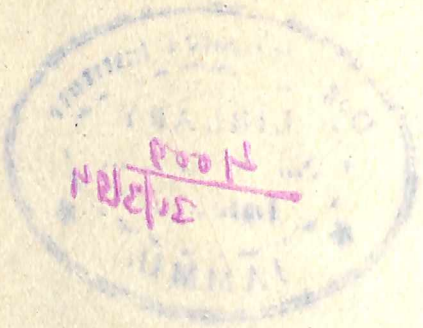
A SHORT HISTORY OF

JAMMU RAJ

FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO 1846 A.D.

Sukhdev Singh Charak



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archer, W. G.	W. G. Archer's *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Delhi, 1972
A. S. I.	*Archaelogical Survey of India. Annual Reports.*
B. I. S. L. (I)	Bengal and India Secret Letters in the India office Library, London
Charak. S. D. S.	*Kirpa Ram's Gulabnama*, annotated Eng. trans., New Delhi, 1977
Elliot	Elliot, H. M. and Dowson : *History of India as told by her own* Historians, 8 Vols. Kitab Mahal, Delhi reprint
Ganesh Dass	*Rajdarshani*, Persian Ms, British Museum, London
Gulab,/Kirpa Ram	Rirpa Ram : *Gulabnama* (Persian), Srinagar, 1876
Hasrat, P. P.	Bikramajit Hasrat, *Punjab Papers*, Hoshiarpur
H. P. H. S.	Voghel, J. Ph. and Hutchison, J. : *History of Punjab Hill States*, Lahore, 1933
J. R. A. S.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
K. C. A.	Sikh History Society, Khalsa College Amritsar.
N. A. I. (ND)	National Archives of India, New Delhi
O. R. P. S.	*Press Lists, Old Records in Punjab Secretariat*, Lahore, 8 Vols
P. G. R.	*Punjab Government Records*, Published in 6 Vols
Rajat	Stein, M. A., *Kalhana's Rajtarangini*, Eng. tr., 2 Vols.
R. D. L. (S)	Government Research Department Library, Srinagar
S. A. R. (J)	State Archival Repository. Jammu
Sec. consult,/ For. Sec.	Secret consultations/ Foreign Secrets. National Archives, New Delhi
Shahamat Ali	*Sikhs and Afghans* by Shahamat Ali, reprint Patiata, 1970
Smyth, G. C.	*A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, reprint Patiala, 1970

FOREWORD

The history of north-western India cannot be thoroughly understood without a proper knowledge of the annals of a number of frontier states which had existed in the Hills and northern plains, from the Indus to the Sutlej. Jammu was one of the important, the oldest and strategically situated states of that group.

In spite of this, its early history is shrouded in the mists of the unknown, and this fact has given rise to a number of legends and mythe concerning its early annals. One thing, however, is certain that as a region strategically located it has existed as a cradle of early man and this land was rendered habitable lakhs of years ago, leaving behind traces of human society in the form of stone age tools recovered from sites scattered all over the region.

As a price for its strategical location along the road of invaders the people of this region had to brace the brunt of ever-recurring tnvasions from the Afghan hills and seem to have continued a constant s truggle against these intruders. The reminiscenes of these heroic deeds find vivid outbursts in several martial ballads, legends and folk tales current among the people of this region. The annals of Dogras, Khokhars and Chibhalis of Jammu are rich in references to the events of the by-gone ages and these fill in a number ef lacunas in our national history.

It was not only in the field of chivalry and martial prowess that the people of this Raj excelled most of their neighbours and rivals which fact earned for the Jammu Raj the pride of the popular maxim "**baiyjan bich Jammu Sardar hai**"—among twenty-two states Jammu is the leading one. They also made an astonishing contribution to the cultural pattern of this region, as the present work adequately reveals. The Akhnur terra-cottas of 6th or 7th centuries, the Krimchi and Babor temples of 10th and 11th centuries and the miniature painting of Jammu and Basohli schools belonging to the 17th and 18th centuries strongly bear out that in the domain of fine arts and architecture the people of Jammu could match any other cultural group of India. The miniature painting created in the Dogra land have been adjudged as one of the finest in the world.

And above all, the conquest of Ladakh and Baltistan by the Dogra chiefs, Gulab Singh and Zorawar Singh, which added a large chunk of territory to India as was never done in the past two thousand years, was another achievement of national importance. It is, therefore, in the logic of the things that the history of Jammu region deserve to be studied in detail.

However, as most of us know, our knowledge of the history of this region before the time of Gulab Singh, had been scanty and quite fragmentary. The present work by Professor Sukhdev Singh Charak fills this lacuna. It is for the first time that we find a full length account of the history of Jammu Kingdom from ancient times to the year of the

creation of Jammu and Kashmir State. Prof. Charak has finally been able to identify the long annals of Jammu after a diligent research and decipherment of a vast documentary and archaeological material, Persian and Takari manuscripts. His findings, therefore, have a seal of authority on account of his direct access to the original sources. With his vast knowledge of history and culture of Himalayan people. [Dr. Charak has finally succeeded in deciphering the early history of Jammu region.

This work, I hope, will cater to a long felt need of the students and scholars of this region for a full and authetic account of the people of this part of State.

G. M. Shah

PRFFACE

Jammu is one of those principalities whose history prior to their coming into prominence is shrouded in the mists of the unknown. This has given birth to several myths about its origin and early history and the fancy of the drafters of genealogies of the ruling houses of this region has concocted such events and anecdotes as are untenable on the logic of history.

Whether Jammu was as old a centre of political power as tradition avers, cannot be now ascertained on the basis of proven facts for want of sources for the period prior to the Christian centuries. Even for the period up to Mahmud's invasions the sources are scanty and it is only tradition recorded in family genealogies which contains some glimpses of history of that period.

As such, the amount of effort needed to construct the history of JAMMU RAJ on somewhat scientific grounds, was immense and involved work for over two decades in researches in this field, resulting in the findings contained in this volume on Dogra history. This unfolding of history of Jammu has been very gradual but steady and my journey towards it has been by inches. However, my research in this direction unlocked a number of sources which have been surveyed in introductory chapter and the Bibliography ; and after a prolonged effort the long and chequered annals of this region have been ultimately identified But this is not the final verdict. More detailed and authentic information may still be added by those scholars who love to discover the achievements of the Dogras in the field of history and culture. If someone takes the spark to enkindle the fire I will deem my endeavours fulfilled.

The history of Jammu Raj and its dependencies forms an important chapter in the annals of national resistance to a stream of invaders from the north-west corner. As Jammu flanked the road taken by invaders, its inhabitants acted as the sentinels on the frontiers of India to strike the first blows to the Arabs and Ghaznavid invaders and to sustain the first wounds at the hands of rapacious, blood-thirsty invaders fas soon as they emerged fresh out of the Khaiber and other defiles of Aeghanistan. A number of references in their annals to events of ancient and medieval history throw much light on some otherwise little known facts. It is interesting to know that only Jammu annals mention the name of the capital of Poros (Raja Puru Sen of Dogra annals), who, they claim, was related to the Jammu ruling house. These also contain information about several ruling houses of Taksha-sila and Sakala who had extended their sway over Jammu territory in remote past. In the early middle ages the role of the people of Jammu in country's history and politics assumes extensive dimensions. The resistance offered by Jammu people to Timur, their struggle against the Khokhars and their role in Ghori's invasions and the politics of the

Sultans and Mughal emperors in the Punjab provides many details of Indian history which are otherwise unknown or wanting in details. This fact pushes up the Jammu annals out of the local to the national canvas. Theconquest of Himalayan territories ofLadakh and Baltistan and the invasion of Tibet by Gulab Singh's veteran general Zorawar Singh, which are the brightest chapters of the Dogra history, have recently assumed national as well as international importance.

During the long period of over two decades of my researches in this field, a number of people helped me in various ways. I particularly put on record my gratitude towards the authorities of National Library, Calcutta ; National Archives, Delhi ; State Archives, Public Libraries and University libraries at Patiala, Chandigarh, Srinagar and Iammu and V. V. R. I., Hoshiarpur. I am beholden to eminent historians, Dr. Hari Ram Gupta ,former Professor and Head of the Deptt. of History, Punjab University, Chandigarh : Dr. S. S. Bal, Professor and Head of the Deptt of History, Punjabi University, Patiala ; and Dr. A. C. Bose, former Head of the Deptt. of History, University of Jammu, for offering me valuable guidance in research at various stages. I am also indebted to my friend Shri Satyam of Afghan Studies Centre. Pathankot, for his precious help to me in the early years of my research endeavours. His vast collection of rare books has been of great help to me.

I am also thankful to a series of Vice-Chancellors of the University of Jammu—Dr. J. N. Bhan, Shri J. D. Sharma IAS (Rtd), Prof. S. C. Dube. Prof. Satya Bhushan and Prof. M. R. Puri who have kept me associated with the University and shown great interest in researches in the history and culture of Jammu region. I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my indebtedness to Prof. Michael H. Fisher of Western Washington University (USA) for his valuable comments on my series on the History **and Culture of Himalayan** States and useful suggestions thereto, and to Prof. De' Wit C. Ellinwood of New York University.

Last of all, I acknowledge my indebtedness to my son Ajay Charak, my daughter Mrs. Anita Bilauria, M.A., M. Phil and my niece and research assistant Rekha Trehan, M.A., B.Ed., for lately helping me in the collection of research material and preparation of bibliographies and indexes for my books. In fact, my researches in Dogra history of Jammu are the result of my endeavours aided in various ways by my helpers and well wishers.

Vijay Dashmi, 4th Oct ; 1984.
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University of Jammu.

SUKHDEV SINGH
CHARAK

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CORRIGENDA

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3	10 from below	Kashua	Kathua
6	Last line	Ladkahi	Ladakhi
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21	7 from below	re rcsented	represented
24	14 from below	living	vying
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46	19	Raja	Raja Hodi
49	1	clam	clan
54	22	for	far
54	23	srong	strong
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67	16	1381	1398
80	5 from below	wrata	wrath
82	1	DEY	DEV
82	16 from below	Bartap	Partap
89	3	Chevelerous	Chivalrous
96	3	anamoly	anomaly
96	4 from below	mad	mud
101	8 from below	bewtowed	bestowed
109	23	Bahute rritories	Bahu territories
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120	2	averston	aversion
128	11	resalt	result
130	15	cerated	cerbated
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144	22	included	induced
145	14	los;	lost
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153	16	"DOGRA RAJ"	DOGRA TRIO
154	5	mintster	minister
158	11	from	and put
158	34	surrepitiously	surreptitiously
164	4	1819	1779
171	3	uctually	actually
171	12	been	seen
182	1	Spiritual	Splrited

Page	Line	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
185	2	had	have
188	12 & 14	Puru	Suru
195	24	fronters	frontiers
201	4 from below	adjoined	and joined
207	6	Jupoas	Jupons
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208	15	oaly	only
209	6	positton	position
210	5 from below	and	had
223	5	Himalawan	Himalayan
223	15	recaptuing	recapturing
226	25	fail	fall
230	25	rapproaehement	rapprochement
231	20	resulling	resulting
232	3	tranquality	tranquility
232	16	coatrol	control
232	last line	Rnther	Rather
233	25 & 26	soverigns	sovereigns
234	20	recommed	recommend
536	18	polilion	position
237	17 from below	calition	coalition
238	21	somerines	sometimes
238	3 from below	plalas	plains
243	26	Baga	Bagh
249	15 from below	futre	future
266	16	hand	band
261	3 from below	antagoised	antagonised
2 9	13	eeceived	received
271	14	hey-stone	key-stone
273	6	codtinue	continue
278	13 from below	K-owing	knowing
279	10 from below	several	severe
280	13 from below	sieze	siege
282	first line	entedred	entered
282	8 from below	falf	fall
283	2	appeciated	appreciated
287	10	appearing	appeasing
292	7	Chenab	Ravi
292	10	addel	added
293	2	th-ir	their
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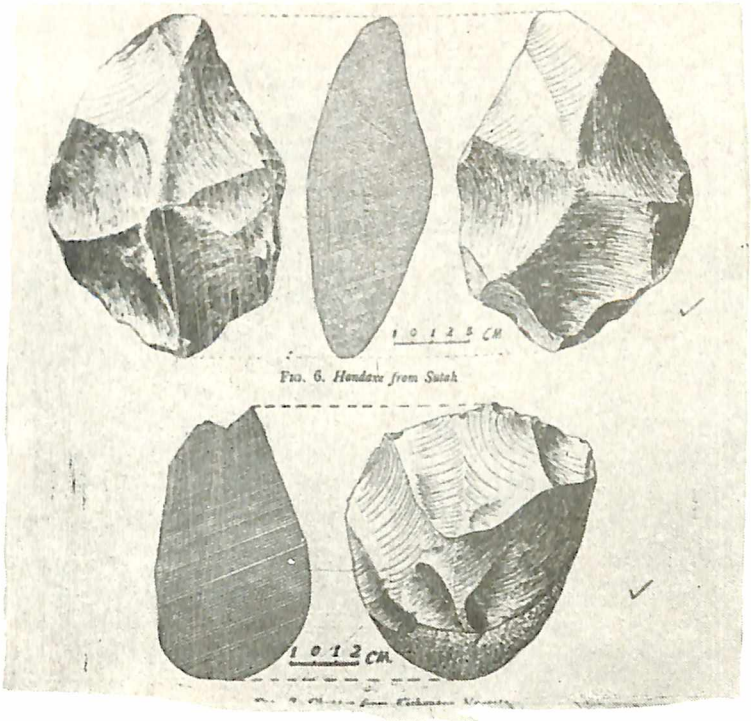
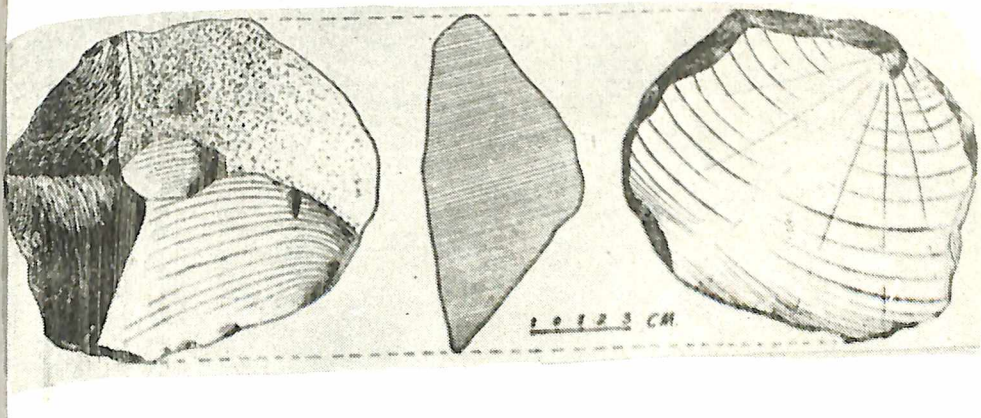


1. Handaxe from Sutah (upper).
   Chopper from Kishanpur Nagrota (lower).



2. Scraper from Kishanpur Nagrota.

STONE-AGE FLINT TOOLS FROM JAMMU REGION.

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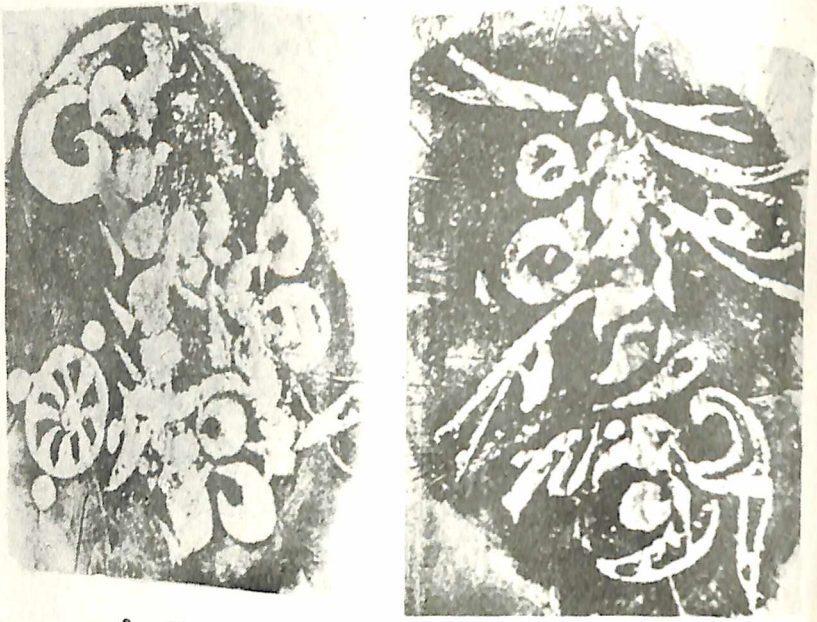
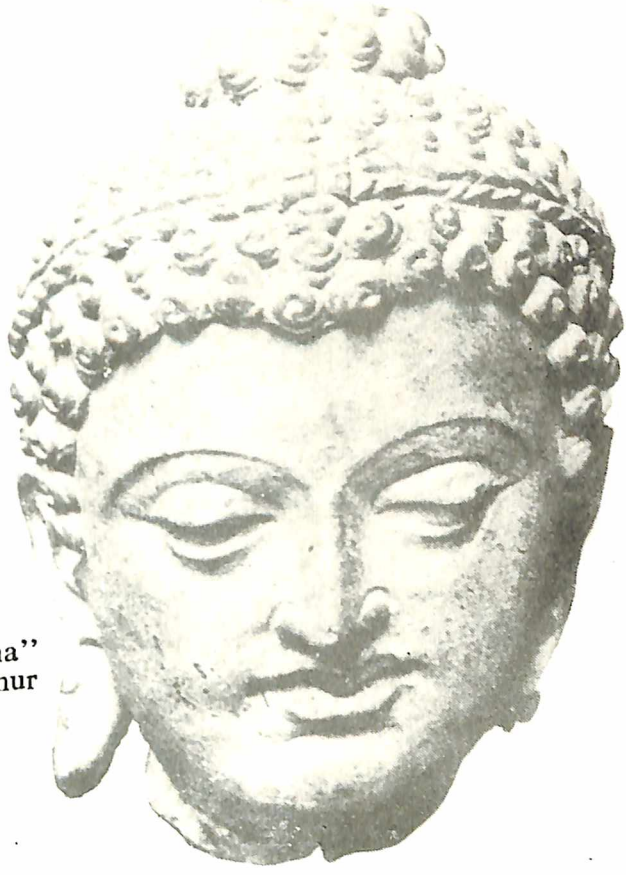


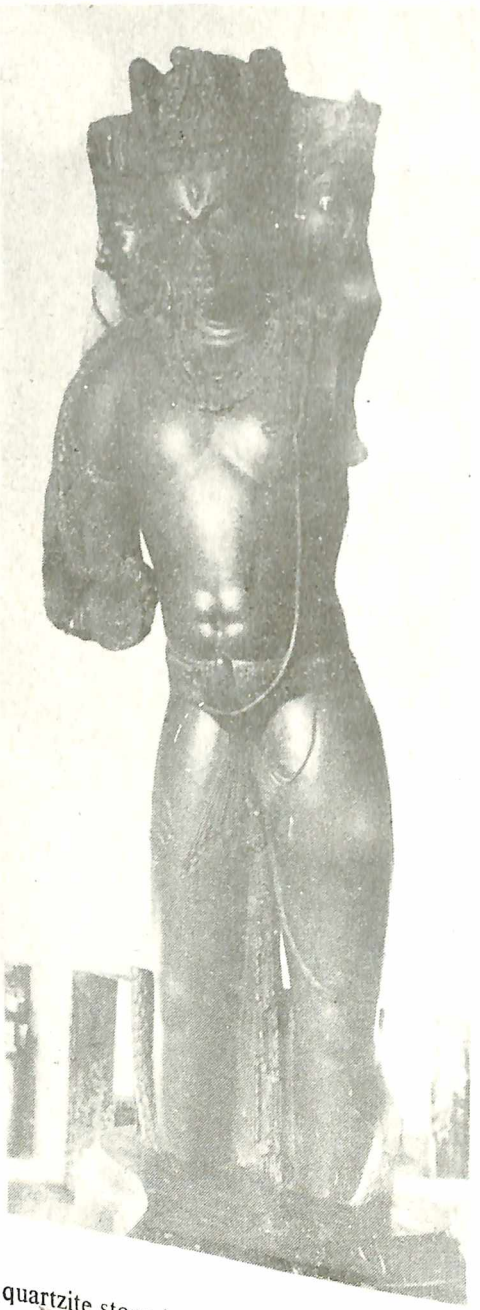
3. Shell inscriptions on stones from Ambaran.

4. "Sleeping Princess" A terracotta head from Akhnur, Jammu.



5. "The Akhnur Buddha" Terracotta from Akhnur Jammu.

6. Terra-cotta heads from Akhnur, Jammu.



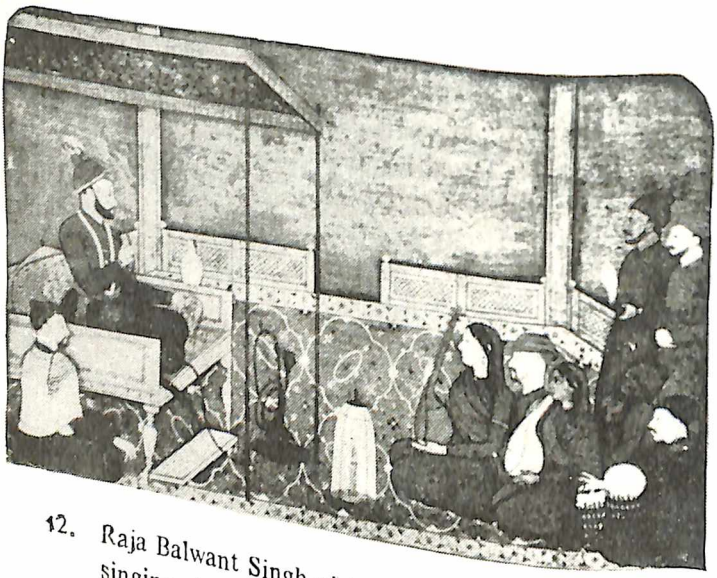
7. A gree quartzite stone image of Visnu from Akhnur, Jammu.

8. Raja Hari Dev (C.A.D. 1656-92).
A Jammu painting, C.A.D. 1660-70.

9. Raja Dhruv Dev (C.A.D. 1707-1733).

10. Maharaja Ranjit Dev (C. 1733-82), with Raja Brijraj Dev (eldest son) to his left, Raja Amrit Pal Balauria (in white garments), and younger son Mian Dalel Singh, seated in front. Jammu, C. 1775.

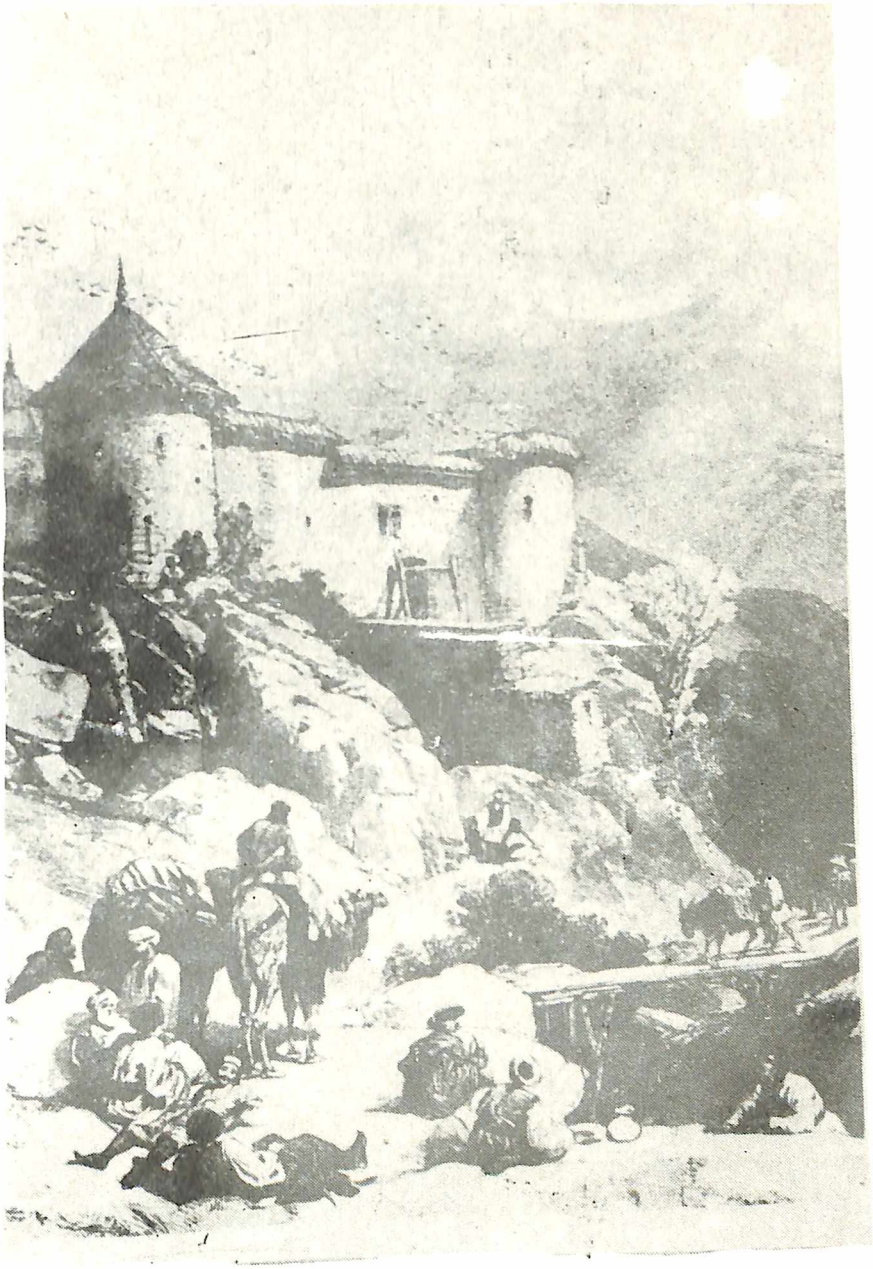
11. Maharaja Ranjit Dev playing with his grandsons, children of prince Dalel Singh.



12. Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu listening to his singing girls and musicians. Jammu, 1749.

13. Raja Brijraj Dev with his courtiers and dancing girls and musicians. Jammu, C. 1775.

14. Raja Gulab Singh with attendant. Jammu, C.A.D. 1830-35.



15. A Hill Fortress of Raja Gulab Singh.

16. Raja Dhian Singh on horse-back, Jammu painting, C. 1830.

17. Jammu in 1846, from a contemporary sketch.

18. General Wazir Zorawar Singh with Gyalpo (Raja) and Gyalmo (Rani) of Ladakh. A.D. 1838.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

THE STAGE

Jammu, once capital of the 'Jammu Raj' stands quite on the outermost range overlooking the Punjab, and though now a terminus of the Northern Railway, was formerly "One of the most oriental and picturesque towns."[1] The Tawi forces its way through the narrow gorges below the town, and was formerly only crossed by a bridge of boats, which was frequently swept by the sudden floods. The cliffs which overhang the river were crowned with picturesque forts and palaces.

From the lofty terraces of Jammu one looks south and west over the plains. To the east and north rise the Panjal mountains, not as one steep wall, but in a series of ridges with intervening valleys, gradually rising higher,[2] beyond which lie Ladakh, Kashmir and Gilgit, the other component parts of Jammu and Kashmir State.

This state, situated in the extreme north-western corner of India, lies between 32° — 17 and 36° — 58 North Latitude and 73° — 26 and 80° 30 East Latitude.[3] Formerly, it was the largest state among the princely states of India. With an area of 84,471 sq. miles in 1947,[4] it was larger than the erstwhile Hyderabad state.

It consisted of three provinces—the Frontier districts, including the Gilgit agency, Kashmir Province, and the Jammu Province. The latter included the jagirs of Punch and Chaneni, as well as Ladakh. The partition of the country in 1947, however, has adversely effected the territorial integrity of the State. Through a naked aggression Pakistan occupied a large portion and keeps it under its illegal occupation upto the Line of control and calls this portion 'Azad Kashmir'. Therefore the State as constituted within the Line of control is administratively divided into three distinct geographical and linguistic divisions with Kashmiri, Dogri and Ladakhi as their principal languages. These

1. Arthur Neve, *Picturesque Kashmir*, Sands & Company, London, 1900, p. 2.
2. *Ibid*
3. *A Hand-book of Jammu & Kashmir State*, Publicity Department Jammu & Kashmir State, 3rd edition, 1947, p. I.
4. *Ibid.* Also see *Jammu & Kashmir* By Jyoti Bhushan Das Gupta, 1968, p. 12, where the area of the state has been calculated to 2 22, 800 Kilometers.

consist of (i) Kashmir Valley, (ii) Ladakh district, including Leh, Kargil and Zanskar, and (iii) Jammu Province.

These three regions governed each from Srinagar, Leh and Jammu respectively, are separated from each other by snow-bound mountain ranges and have therefore evolved their distinct political and cultural systems in the past before being integrated into one state in 1846. The territories of three powers, viz. India, Russia and China, and of the independent kingdom of Afghanistan met on the northern border reaches of the Indus[5] and the Korakorom mountains. The portions of the state immediately concerned with the history of Jammu kingdom were Ladakh and Jammu region, the former touching the Korakorams on the north.

At the Korakorom Pass (18,317 feet) the frontier zigzags, and to the north-east is a high corner-bastion of mountain plains at an elevation of over 17,000 feet, called the Linzitang Plain which has salt lakes dotted about. The frontier line on this side, which is formed on mountains of an elevation of about 20,000 feet, encloses the Aksai tract and crosses lakes like Pangkong lying at a height of nearly 14,000 feet.

The eastern boundry repeats the same features—grand mountains running to peaks of over 20,000 feet; but farther west, where the slopes dip down more rapidly to the South, the elevation is easier, and we come to Bhadarwah (5,427 feet) and to still easier heights of Basohli (2,170 feet), on the Ravi river.[6] From Madhopur, the headworks of the Bari Doab Canal in the Panjab, the Ravi river ceases to be the boundary, and a line crossing the Ujh river and the watershed of the Low Dogra hills, runs fairly straight to the Chenab, a little above the confluence of the Tawi with this river. A similar line, runs swift from the Chenab to the Jhelum river; from the South-west corner of the territories the Jhelum river forms an almost straight boundary on the west upto the Rattan Pir skirting Punch on the west. As a result of the invasion of 1948, Pakistan has illegally occupied a narrow strip of land of Jammu Province along the left bank of the Jhelum in addition to a broad mountainous region to the north-west and north of Kashmir beyond a line drawn curved about Uri and Skardu.

This vast mountain country may be conveniently divided into the following divisions—The lofty mountains and high plateau tracts in the north, containing the districts of Gilgit, Baltistan and Ladakh; the middle region of the Happy Valley of Kashmir; and last, the large mountainous and sub-mountain region of Jammu which is skirted by long stripe of fertile plain in the south.

5. *A Hand-book of Jammu & Kashmir State*, (*Op. Cit.*), *p. 1.*
6. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. 1909. pp. 72-73.

THE ACTORS

Jammu was a land of people of several races and a mixed culture. The mountain ranges of Dhauladhar-Zanskar and Pirpanjal, separated it physically from Kashmir and Ladakh and governed the racial distribution over the State. The Indo-Aryan Kashmiri, Muslim as well as Hindu, were mostly confined to the Kashmir valley north of the Panjal range ; the Buddha, Champa and Dard Turanians, lived north-ward beyond the Zanskar Range, in the regions of Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit ; and the Aryan tribes of Hindu Dogras, and Muslim Chibhalis, Paharies, Guddis and Muslim Gujjars inhabited the lower hills and plain areas lying to the south of the Panjal Range. The southern slopes of the Panjal Range were, however, sprinkled with an outflow of Kashmiris.

The earliest population figures for the districts of Jammu region were available in 1873 which recorded a total of 4,37,274 Hindus (2,23,122 men and 2,14,152 women), 3,27,544 Muslims (1,74,271 men and 1,63,273 women), and 86,257 (43,742 men and 42,515 women) of sundry castes. Thus out of a total population of 8,61,075 Muslims formed 39.2 percent.

The plain at the foot of the hills, being for the most part capable of cultivation and in great part already cultivated, was thickly peopled; everywhere populous villages were to be found, but on the hills themselves , villages were rarely met with, and these but small ; scattered hamlets and scattered houses denoted how scarce was land that could be made fit for tilling. Recent decades have marked greater concentrations of population in the towns of Jammu, Udhampur, Kathua, Samba, Akhnur, Rajouri and Poonch.

The partition of India and a certain amount of exodus of the Muslim population, as well as the absorption of the major part of Punch and the district of Mirpur into what is called Azad Kashmir—the Pakistan held part of Kashmir—caused a considerable movement of population and brought about a quantitative change in Jammu which nevertheless remained a non-Muslim majority area. According to the census of 1961 the population figures of Jammu Province stood at 15,68,982, out of which Muslims were 5,98,492 persons ; i.e. about 38 percent of the total population, whereas Sikhs in all the five districts were 46,273 persons. The breakup of the population districtwise reveals that Hindus predominated in three districts only, i.e. Udhampur, Jammu and Kashua. In Doda and Punch Muslims predominated. P;unch had 2,59,082 Muslims as against 58,712 Hindus and 8,193 Sikhs and Doda recorded 1,74,499 Muslims interspersed with 92,797 Hindus and only 480 Sikhs. Udhampur showed 1,65,506 Hindus, 86,059 Muslims, and 2,259 Sikhs ; Jammu returned 4,28,835 Hindus, 51,847 Muslims and 32,788 Sikhs. In Kathua 1,77,666 Hindus have 27,005 Muslims and 2,553 Sikhs as their neighbours. In the census of 1971 communal breakup of the population has not been shown. The total for six districts of Jammu is however 20,75,640 (10,87,277 males and 9,88,363 females), of which Jammu district alone claims some 35.3 percent.

Varied as was the form of Jammu principality and its other physical characters, its population was not less so. The several tribes that dwelt here, dotted over the lower hills, or sheltering in the valleys that divide the loftier mountains, were some of widely different origin and of widely different character. Ethnically Jammu region was inhabited by the people of two races :—

1. Aryans, including Dogras (Hindus) aad Chibhails (Muhammadans) of the lower hills and the plain on the south, the Paharis and Kashmiris, inhabiting the next higher mountains.

2. Turanian, subdivided into (a) Baltis, living at an elevation of 6,000 to 11,000 feet, (b) Ladakhis, dwelling in villages 9,500 to 13,500 feet above sea, and (c) Champas who wander among the high level valleys of Rupshu for pastral purposes.[7]

The outer Hill region and the 'Plain in front of the Hills' was occupied by the Dogra race of Aryan stock who have been the ruling race of all these territories[8]. They were divided into castes in nearly the same way as were the Hindus generally—Brahman; Rajputs, divided into Mians and working Rajputs; Khatri ; Thakar; Jat; Bania and Krar ; Nai ; Jiur ; and the so-called low-castes Dhiyar, Megh and Dum.

The Dogra Brahmans were mostly cultivators and very few of them followed spiritual pursuits, yet all were given due respect usual to their tribe among the Hindus. The Dogra Rajputs were in considerable number. They had held for many centuries the temporal power and hence had developed into good fighters. Though they are not large men "but they are active and untiring."[13] In character they are "simple and childlike.[14] The Khatris were the higher class of traders, they were "less inured to physical exertion, but they are much keener, and are men of better judgement and greater power of mind." The Thakars were the chief cultivating class in the hills. In occupation they corresporded with the Jats in the Panjab.[15]. Banias, Krars and Nais were the low class traders, and Jhiur served as carriers of load and also as water-millers. The lowest

7. *Gazetter of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, Op. Cit., p. 25.
8. Drew, Frederic. *The Northern Barrier of India*, Reprint, Light and Life Publishers, Jammu, 1971, p. 21.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Drew, Frederic, *The Northern Barrier of India*, Op. Cit., p. 30.
11. Drew, Frederic. *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, London 1875 ; reprint, oriental publishers. Delhi-6, 1971, p. 59.
12. Jyoti Bhushan Das Gupta, *JAMMU AND KASHMIR*, The Hague, 1968, p. 14.
13. Gazetter of Kashmir and Ladakh , 1890, Op. Cit., p. 398 ; Frederic Drew *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, opt. Cit., p 106.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid*, p. 27.

in the Dogra society were the Meghs, Dums, and their various kinsmen. These were the servile classes. They were in large numbers ia Jammu, and were scattered also over all the country, both the Outer Hills and the next higher mountains, The Dhiyar follow the occupation of iron-smelting. All these tribes formed the labourer class of the Dogra Hills. "The servile tribes of Meghs and Dums," were scattered about everywhere and form a considerable part of the population.[16].

The Dogras had a light brown complexion, clearly-cut features, and black hair, which were cut to form a firinge below the turban. The hair was worn on the face. The Thakars among Dogras were a well-made race, somewhat more powerful in body than the Dogra Rajputs, whilst the Meghs and Dums were darker in colour smaller in limb, shorter in stature and less bearded[9]. They followed the Hindu religion and occupied eastern part of the outer Hills.

The western part of the Outer Hills was inhabited by Muhammadan race, called Chibhali from the name of their country, Chibhal, which is a region lying between the Chenab and Jhelam rivers. The Chibhalis seem to be for the most part Muhammanised Dogras[10]. Thus, some of the subdivisions of the Hindus Rajputs, as Chib, Jaral, Pal, & c., existed also among the Muhammadans and they are generally designated as Muslim Rajputs[10]. Some other tribes like Maliks, Sudan and Gakkars also inhabited the Chibhal area and the latter have been the old dwellers of these hills and had long sustained their independence there.

"The Chibhalis on the whole, resembled the Dogras, although the Muhammadan way of cutting the moustache made a difference. "The Chibhalis are," Mr. Drew thinks "Stronger, more muscular than the others, and are quite equally active.[11]

In the region of the Middle Mountains, with an elevation ranging from 4,000 to 13,000 feet above see, inhabited a tribe, called 'Paharis'[12] which extended only as far west as Budil in the valley of the Ans.[13]. They had remained Hindu and were a strong hardy people, of good powerful frame, but still active. Their men all wore a light grey thick woollen cloth called 'Pattu', which was made in almost every house. In some parts they wore a short coat, in others a long and full one, hitched up by woollen rope, usually black, wound many scores of times round. Their pyjamas were loose down to the knees, but below that fit close ; a very useful style for hill countries.

They put on caps of various shapes and colours. Lastly, a *Loi* or Blanket enabled them to withstand all the severe weather they

16. Atkinson, Edwin T , The *Himalayan Gazetteer*, Reprint ; Cosmo Publishers, Delhi-6, 1973, p. 31. (First Published Allahabad, 1882, under the title "*The Himalayan Districts of Northern-Western Provinces of India.*"

were exposed to. Their woman had long gown of the same handspun, and the '*Kamarband*'. Some times they wore a low red cap.

The caste that among the Paharis is found numerous was the Thakar. They ineeed had all the land in proprietorship in the hills; they were the peasantry of the mountains[14]. The Paharis led a hard life speaking a mixed dialect from Hindi, Punjabi, Dogri and Sanskrit words.

At the south-east end of the Middle Mountain region where it borders on the Chamba country there was a race called Gaddis, who had come from the Chamba Hills. They were Hindus and had the same sub-division of castes. They reared large flocks of sheep and herds of goats, and they migrated with them to different altitudes according to the season. In the upper valley of the Tawi lived some Gaddis in communities of their own with their own headmen in small villages separated from those of the other hill men. In physique the Gaddis resemble the other Paharis. Their dress, except for the cap or hat, was the same as of other Paharis.

There was another race who spent half their life on these mountains and half at lower altitudes, viz., the Gujjars. Unlike the Gaddis they had their homes below, in the plains outside the hills, here and there among the lower hills. Though holding some land, they were a migrating, pastoral tribe. In figure they were tall and gaunt; in motion slow and ungainly. "They are rather surly in disposition, having that kind of independence which consists in liking to be left alone and to have as little as possible to do with other races.[15]

They usually dressed somewhat scantily—a coloured sheet tugged loosely around the waist, with a black jacket above a shirt. Their women were fond of wearing heavy ornaments of silver, a '*Suthan*' (tight pyjamas) and a long loose shirt with colourful designs. Those who settled farther among the mountains, adopted a dress like that of their neighbours, better suited for severe weather. They all were Mussalmans. They were the possessors of herds of buffaloes which they drove into the higher mountain pastures as the spring and summer advanced. They moved in large groups, with their wives and families, and all belongings. They spoke a mixed dialect of Panjabi, or Dogri, and Pahari. They belonged to the Aryan stock of race.

Beyond the Middle Mountains, on the slopes of lofty mountains and the valleys of the Indus, in Baltistan and Ladkh, the land of the Bhauttas, inhabited a people of Tibetan or Mongol origin having the characteristics of the Turanian family[16]. These people fell into four groups—namely, Champa, Ladkahi, Balti and Dard. The first three

14. Drew, Frederic, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*. Op. Cit., pp. 106. 107.
15. Drew, F., Op. Cit., p. 108
16. *Gazetter of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1890, (*Opt. Cit.*), p. 25.

belonged to the Tibetan race. The Champa were those who iead a nomadic life on the upland flat-bottomed valleys of Rupshu, more than 13000 feet above sea, fit only for pastoral uses. They were not very different from Ladakhis, except that 'Champas have rather a projecting Chin... .....& a more expressive mouth. They are most hard and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistance, they still have the best of spirits.[17] Their lives were spent in tents, they stayed for a month or two at a time in a spot to graze their flocks and herds and then they moved with them to furthur pastures. The dress and religion of the Champas was almost the same as of Ladakhis. Only their young men did not become Lamas. The number of these Champas in the country is very small only a few hundred families.

LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT

This medley of races spoke as many as ten languages or dialects within the Jammu—Ladakh region, possibly these had a greater number of subdivisions. Thus differences between these languages were very marked. These can, however. be put together in three great groups as follows :

A. Aryan (1) (Southern Group) Dogri, Chibali and Pahari Rambani, Badarwahi, Padari, dialect of Doda, Kishtwari, Kashmiri).

B. (3) Turanian (Southern Division).

C. (4) Tibetan, Languages of Baltistan and Ladakh ; Languages of the Champas.[18]

For some centuries past the official written language of Jammu region had been Persian, probably of imperial correspondence, along with *Takari* for use in local and regional purposes. The mutual correspondence of hill Rajas was carried on in *Takari*. Whatever records are available, belonging mostly to 18th and 19th centuries, are in Persian Character and language. Orders given by the rulers, as well as the government's accounts were also written in Persian, and in almost every case that language was the medium of official communication, though in some cases Dogri was also used. There were two other scripts used for languages spoken. These were Dogri (*Takari*), and Tibetan. Chibhali and the Pahari dialects were unwritten. Of the people who spoke Tibetan, the Ladakhis were the only one who could at all generally write it.[19] The *Shastri* or *Devanagari* script was also used for religious books.

Thus three alphabets were used by the people of this part of the state, viz. Persian, Dogri ond Tibetan.

17. *Drew*, Frederic, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, Opt. Cit., pp. 241-42.
18. *Gazetter of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 26.*
19. *Ibid.*

(3) POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CONCEPT OF JAMMU.

The formation and extension of the geographical and political concept of Jammu was the result of historical evolution and the gradual expansion of the sway of the petty Jammu principality towards its periphery over a few centuries. Ferishta has recorded a tradition connected with Jammu which is presumed to pertain to the first century A.D.[20], for which however, no corroborating evidence is forthcoming. The fact, however, remains that the 'Durgara' or Dugar State, which had probably been founded as early as the age of later Guptas finds its first inscriptional mention on two copper-plate title-deeds found in Chamba, issued in the middle of the eleventh century and recording events which must have taken place in the early part of the tenth century[21] in the reign of Sahil Varman (A. D. 930—950) of Chamba.

It is a matter of considerable surprise that no mention of Jammu is to be found in the *Rajatarangini* and the explanation most probably is, that it did not become the capital of the State till later period[22]. The account of the *Rajatarangini* closes with the reign of Jayasimha A.D. 1128-1149[23]. Till sometime after this date, Babbapura remained the capital of the Dogra State. Probably the seat of the government seems to have been transferred to Jammu by Raja Mal Dev (A. D. 1370-1407), whom tradition attributed the raising of the first royal mansions there, called *Mal-Dev-Ki-Mandi* or *Purani Mandi*[24]. Jammu probably was an insignificant village and appears in history when it is mentioned in the *Mulfuzat-i-Timuri*, the autobiography of Amir Timur, who invaded and plundered the town in A.D. 1399[25]. Jammu, which had been founded, according to the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* of Azmi, about A.D. 900[26], had by then become the capital ot the State known after its name and Timur mentions a "Raja of Jammu," without of course giving his personal name. These inscriptions and events prove that Dugar then existed as a state ruled by its own Raja[27].

After becoming the capital of the Dogra State, Jammu attained importance, rather rapidly. It is noteworthy that of the twenty two principalities, which tradition associates with the Jammu region, no

20. Briggs, J. (Tr.) *Tarikh-i-Firishta* or *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, London, 1829 Introduction.
21. *J R.A,S.*., 1907, p. 403 ; *Chamba Gazetter, 1962*, p. 46.
22. *H P.H.S* , Vol. I, p. 46.
23. *Rajat.*, II, p. 268.
24. Charak, S. D. S., *Kirpa Ram's Gulabnama*, Eng. tr., p. 81 ; Smyth, *G. C.* p. 2.34.
25. *Elliot's Hist.*, Vol. III, pp. 463 70. Also see *Zafarnoma* in *Elliot's Hist.*, vol. III, pp. 517-520.
26. Cf *H·P.H.S.*, pp 522-523.
27. *Ibid.* p. 46.

fewer than ten were ruled by the branches of the same family, acknowledging the rulers of Jammu as their head[28]. The extensive ramifications of the family strongly support both its claim to antiquity as well as suzerainty over the entire region as early as the thirteenth or fonrteenth century. Probably it was then that these constituent states came into existence as fiefs dependent on Jammu[29]. As early as the fourteenth century the conception of the "Jammu Raj" covered, at least, the territory spreading from Lakhanpur and Jasrota on the bank of the Ravi in the east, to Akhnur some twenty miles to the west on the Chenab, and up to the Siwalik heights to the north of Krimchi, the capital of Bhoti. Basohli and Bhadarwah were then probably out of its fold A note in the chamba annals[30], dated c. 1670-1680, concerning an incident in which Kirpal Dev is referred to as "of Jammu" (rather than of Bahu), supports the view that "Bahu comprising the eastern part of the Jammu State (i.e., the portion adjoining Basohli and Chamba) was usually known as 'Jammu' itself."[31]

Thus Jammu as a political concept came to be attributed to the territory and it had gradually evolved into the "Jammu Raj", the boundaries of which gradually but constantly extended all around[32]. It even included Nurpur and Chamba.[33]

Afterwards, the assiduous endeavours of Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh further extended the boundaries of Jammu Raj, by conquest and by aequisition. By A.D. 1820 and 1841 they possessed whole of the territory now included in the Jammu Province and Ladakh.

Thus by the later middle centuries at least the name of Jammu had become firmly applicable to the entire territory from the Ravi to the Jehlum, and from Banihal and Kishtwar to Kathua, Suchetgarh and Mirpur. Ladakh, Baltistan and parts of Gilrgit were also acknowledged parts of this emerging state, though not of this region.

(4) SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND CULTURE OF JAMMU

The region which gradually came to acquire the name of Jammu during the middle ages, seems to have played an important role in the history and politics of north-western India, at least during the period

28. These ten states were..... Jammu, Bahu, Dalpatpur, Samba, Jasrota, Tirikot Lakhanpur, Mankot, Bhoti and Akhnur. Cf. *H.P.H S*, vol. I, p. 47.

29. *H P.H S.* ? Vol. I, p. 47.

30. *H.P,H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 538.

31. Archer, W.G., p, 117.

32. During the reigns of Dhruv Dev (1703—1733) and Ranjit Dev (1733-82) the Jammu Raj extended upto Bhadarwah and Kishtwar. Cf. Voghal's *Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum, Chomba, 19.*

33. The Chamba records in the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba include several Takari letters and sanads which were exchanged between the Rajas of Jammu, Basohli, Chamba and Kishtwar.

for which any kind of records of its activities are available. In all probability some type of account of these events may have been compiled, but none is available before the middle of nineteenth century. The long and eventful history of this very important region therefore lies obscure hidden in various forms of sources, in which form the wheel of time, *Kala Chakkar*, has left behind imprints of every activity of mankind in this region.

A true history evolves out of social, economic and political events which can be gleaned from a study of the past records.

A detached evaluation of the available sources is therefore necessary to sift reality from fiction and to cast findings in a frame which presents some glimpse of the ever-changing patterns of society. Thus writing of history amounts to recapitulation of the past of a people by a historian. For this purpose any thing can serve as a source which enlightens us on any social, political, economic or intellectual event. Such source material is available in abundance in this region or elsewhere.

The most important original source for our purpose are the *Vansavalis* of the ruling families and chiefs of Jammu and several other minor dynasties of this region. From remote times it has been customary in the royal and noble families in India to keep a careful record of their pedigree in the shape of *Vansavalis*. The pedigrees of those ancient dynasties which acquired national stature, became incorporated in the various *Puranas* in their *Vansanucharita* sections. This tradition was faithfully followed by ruling famiies in the north-western parts also. As early as the first decade of eleventh century, al-Biruni reports of the *Vansavali* of the Shahi rulers kept in the fort of Kangra, written on silk cloth. During eighteen-forties Major G.C. Smyth learnt the Vanasavali of the Jammu Rajas and compiled a short account of "The Lords of the Hills" as a part of his semi-historical work *A History of the Ruling Family of Lahore*. A prolific historian, Ganesh Das Badehra,[34] had mostly to depend on the manuscripts of *Rajavalis*, i. e., *Vansavalis*, which were in possession of several Brahmanas of Jammu. Diwan Kirpa Ram, the author of *Gulabnama*, also copied from the Vansavali long lists of names and a cryptic account of events for the period prior to Gulab Singh. Thet *Vansavalis* of local rulers were fondly copied and preserved is borne out by a manuscript of an Urdu history of Jammu,[35] by an unknown author who informs us :hat his family possesses an old *Vansavali* in Braj Bhasha, which he has translated into Urdu.

Probably the original *Vansavali* has been lost and Thakur Kahn Singh Balawia had mostly to depend on the *Gulabnama* for his account of Jammu ruling house and on the memory of elders who were wont to listen from the family bards and pick up the narration.

34. Ganesh Das, *Rajdarshani*, MS Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar, folio 2 b.
35. *MS NO* : 770, Rssearch Department Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar. (R.D S.)

When Hutchison and Vogel wrote a chapter on "Jammu State",[36] the *Vansavali* was 'not available in original, neither any MS of *Rajdarshani* had come to light and the only copy available was in the *Gulabnama*, which "contains little more than a long list of names, dating from that of the mythical founder down to the present time."[37] The authors were of the opinion that 'as there is no corroborative evidence for the early portion, it must be received with caution [38] In my present, as well as earlier, efforts, I could find much corroborative evidence for the portion of *Vansavali* from about Mahmud's invasions and after, and in my opinion the genealogical accounts for this period at least receive a measure of credibility. Sir A. Cunningham recognised the importance of *Vansavalis* and the authors of the *History of the Panjab Hill States*, had formed a mixed opinion of these after examining a large number of those of the states from Rajouri and Punch to Bilaspur, and concluded that "some of them are of doubtful value; while others possess the accuracy of true historical records." To which category the *Vansavalis* of tha States of Dugar of Jammu Group belong, is difficult to decide at this stage though much reliance cannot be placed on their earlier portion dealing with prehistoric and legendry heroes and rulers A considerable doubt is thrown on *Vansavalis* by the record of 60 and 70 years ascribed to the rule of some Rajas. The copies of the same *Vansavali* do not tally in some details. Moreover the *Vansavalis* of the royal house of Jammu envisage the continuity of the rule of one dynasty over a period of thousands of years, ignoring the evident fact that several dynasties ruled over Jammu one after the other.

The earliest available source to record the *Vansavali* in detail is the *Rajdarshani* which was compiled in August 1847. Its author, Ganesh Das, states to have consulted the various MSS of this document available with Pandit Ram Krishan, Brahm Brat, Gosaon Pandit and Raina Narsing Das. The official copy of the document was consulted and copied by Diwan Kirpa Ram in his *Gulabnama*. There are minor variation of insignificent historical value in these two records. A *Vansavali* was printed by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, during the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh, in 192 A.D., in bilingual script, Urdu and Hindi An endorsement on this document shows that this version came from one Pandit Lal Jadu, probably the *purohit* of the then Maharaja. The original of Pandit Lal Jadu is not available. However, there is an incomplete original copy in the file which traces the lineage from Raja Bhoj Dev (about A.D. 950) to Raja Dhruv Dev (A.D 1703-33). This seems to be an old document belonging in the reign of Dhruv Dev.

The inspection and comparison of all these versions bear out the fact that the succession, they record and the brief events these narrate may be historical facts from the beginning of the Christian era.

36. See *History of the Panjab Hill States*, by J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, Lahore, 1933, Vol, 11, pp. 514-563.

37. Ibid. p. 514

38. *Ibid.*

The names of several Rajas and occurrences recorded in the *Vansavali* have found mention in other sources also which lends much credibility to these family records.

The ancient and recent literary works are also replete with references to the land and people of Jammu and their political and social institutions, and even epic literature has been presumed to refer to the ancient country and its inhabitants. However, the references are very vague and open to various, and often contradictory, interpretations. Nevertheless, the Jammu region from the Ravi to the Jhelum was known to the Vedic *rishis* and the later *Purana* compilers. Some ancient tribes of this region, such as the Salavas and their constituent Madras, were the most ancient people of this area known to the Vedic and post-vedic literature. The *Atharva Veda* and the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* also knew of Madra, the ancient people of this land.

The *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini, a 700 B.C. work, knew the subdivisions of Madras, as well as the rivers and geographical features of Jammu region, as detailed in the next chapter. The republican tribes and topography of the region find mention in several Sanskrit works such as the *Mahabharata*, the *Brihat-samhita*, the *Kashika-vritti*, the *chandra-vritti*, *Vishnu-Purana*, *Padam-Purana*, *Nilamta* and several other *Puranas*. Similarly, Darva and Abhisara, as well as the holy Devika river, find mention in most of the classical literature, and *Vishnu Purana* seems to mention even the Pur-mandal shrine on the bank of the Devika river; and *Nilamata*, the local *Purana* of Kashmir has also several references to the enthnography and geography of Jammu.

Earlier, Alexander's historians mentioned the rulers of Abhisara, as also of Darva. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chwang visited Rajapuri (Rajaori), and makes mention of Tak-desa, lying between the Chenab and the Satluj, most probably including Jammu. The *Rajatarangini* is a valuable Sanskrit source for history of Jammu region. It contains historical details of Pruntsa (Punch), Lohara (Loharin), and Rajapuri (Rajaori), and makes reference to the historical events of Kashtawata (Kashtwar), Vallapur (Balawar-Basohli), Bhadravaksha (Bhadarwah) Kanda (probably Kandi), Khasha, Darvabhisara and Babbapura, the present Babor village, some 30 miles to the north-east of Jammu city. Al-beruni describes a trade route which passed through Ballawar, Ladda and Rajagiri. He also mentions Trikuta mountain. A few chapters in his *Tahqiqal Hind* probably describe religious beliefs, superstitions and social customs of Jammu hills. About this time the first recorded mention of 'Durgara' or Dugar country is found on two copper-plate title-deeds discovered in the Chamba territory. Jammu also finds first recorded mention in Timur's biography and histoty. The Persian histories from this time onwards, make frequent mention of events happening in the Jammu hill states. More detailed accounts are contained in *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Firoze Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*, *Tabkat-i-Akbari* *Akbarnama*, *Badshah nama*, *Tarikh-i-Alifi*, *Rauzat-us-saffa*, *Mua'sir ul-Umara*, *Tarkh-i-Firishta*,

Tarikh-i-Daudi and a score of other Persian chronicles pertaining to the Sultanate and the Mughal regimes.

The tradition of composing local chronicles seem to have become popular with the rise of eminent Dogra rulers like Ranjit Dev and Gulab Singh. A short martial ballad, entitled '*Brajraj Panchasika*,[39] composed by Ranjit Dev's court poet, Datt Kavi, gives a graphic account of the Dogra conquest of Kangra and the defeat of Katoch ruler, Raja Ghamand Chand. The first place among local chronicles may, however, be conceded to a full length Persian history of Jammu, entitled '*Rajdarshani*' by Ganesh Das, referred to earlier. The author held a post in Gulab Singh's revenue department. Three copies of this work are known. The one in the British Museum, London, is a well preserved MS of 305 folios ; another in the India Office Library, London, has only 144 folios, whereas the third, a motheaten and damaged MS in SPS Museum Srinagar, is an incomplete copy having 1 to 232 folios while the remaining are missing. It gives detailed history of Jammu before the rise of the 'Dogra Trio' ; and only a concise account for the period between 1810 and 1846. In this respect it supplements *Gulabnama* of Diwan Kirpa Ram. Ganesh Dass was a chronicler of repute and much literary experience. *Gulabnama* is a source book for the history of Jammu, as well as of the Punjab, for the period between 1750 and 1857. It throws a considerable light on the careers of Maharaja Gulab Singh, Dhyan Singh and Hira Singh, the Dogra chiefs, as well as on the events of Lahore Darbar from 1839 to 1849. E. Rehatsak[40] and K.M. Panikkar acknowledged *Gulabnama* as a reliable source of history and "a remarkable historical document.[41]" The author had a lot of original source material before him which he uses judiciously. Both the Persian works read together, lend considerable insight into the political condition of Jammu from the beginning of the Christian era to the death of Gulab Singh in 1857. '*Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*' by Sheoji Dhar, is another Persian work of importance on local history which was completed in 1925.

There are also chronicles in Vernacular, which however are only a few, including only two in manuscript form in Urdu. Without exception all these are recent compilations and none is earlier than the present century. In addition to the Urdu translation of the *Vansavali* or local history in Brajbhasha, referred to above, there are two chronicles written in Urdu by Thakur Kahn Singh Balauria, born about 1870-71 A.D. He served in the Police Department of Jammu and Kashmir State as a petty officer. He had a great interest in the history of the Rajput dynasties of the territories of Jammu, and the present Himachal Pradesh and the adjoining plain region. He had recorded his findings and researches in two works, viz., *Twarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Punjab* and *Tarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*. The one was published in

39. see appendices for the reproduction of the poem.

40. Charak, S.D.S., *Gulabnama*, Eng. trans., Delhi., 1977, p. xxvii.

41. *Ibid.*

1912 and the second in 1929 and 1931. These give quite a reliable account of the history of the Hill States, from Bilaspur upto Punch, with a separate volume on the history of the Jamwal ruling dynasty and its various '*als*' (offshoots). The Thakur was a laborious researcher. He mentions about thirty sources which he consulted, in addition to the dynastic *Vansavalis* and tradition. The most important of these are *Rajatarangini*, *Prithvi Raj Raso*, *Todd's Rajasthan*, *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-zila Kangra*, *Twarikh-i-Garh Amaithi*, *Jama-ul-Tawarikh*, *Gulabnama-Shahjahan-nama*, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, *Sair-ul-Matakharin*, and *Waqai, Babur*.

Though the Thakur does not mention Sohan Lal's Persian diary, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, he has extensively borrowed material from this work for his account of the Period of Gulab Singh and his brothers. He has copied several *sanads* and family documents also. But he could not use several contemporary sources in English. Nevertheless, whatever he has written, bears the seal of authority. His works have been largely depended upon by writers like Vogel, Hutchison, Goetz, Randhawa and Archer for their notes on the history of Hill States. An Urdu annalist, Muhammad Din 'Fauq' has also written a number of accounts of tribes of Kashmir, Punch and other parts of Jammu, like Ghakhars and Chibhalis. His *Tarikh-i-Aqwam-i-Punch* and *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir* in four volumes (1912), are of some value for the history of this state. His works, however, are predominated by heresay and anecdotes, and lack analytical and scientific approach. Of similar character is a short treatise by Thakur Mehjar Singh, entitled *Tarikh-i-Chibhal*, which traces the origin of the Chib Rajputs and their several branches. A passing reference may also be made to two voluminous Urdu works, *Tarikh-i-Jammu wa Fatuhat-i-Raja Gulab Singh* by Hashmatullah Khan, published in 1939, and *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des* by Narsing Das Nargis, published in 1967. Hashmatullah's book is of little value for the history of Jammu but is a valuable source for the history of Ladakh and Baltistan, Dogra conquests of Ladakh and Tibet, and tribal territories of Gllgit. The work of Narsing Das Nargis suffers from all the drawbacks of a bad history and it has little value except for minor references not recorded by Thakur Khan Singh Balauria.

Among Urdu works which include detailed references on the history of Jammu during the period 1750 to 1849, *Tarikh-i-Gulshan-i-Punjab* (1850), of Debi Prashad, *Tarikhi-Guru Khalsa*, vol. III (1893) of Gian Singh and *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (1888) of Muhammad Latif deserve mention. *Tarikh-i-Rajawar* by an unknown writer is another important local history. Some stray references to Jammu are found in several Persian histories of Kashmir, such as *Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Khawaja Azim Deda Meri, *Wajez-ul-Tawarikh* of Mulla Ghulam Ali Kashmiri, *Risala-i-Tuhfat-ul-Ahbab*, all in the Manuscript collection of the Government Research Department, Srinagar. A recent Persian work, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, contains detailed account of the latest Dogra dynasty.

Among earlier documents are the Persian *sandas* of Mughal and Afghan rulers given to Rajas Dhruv Dev, Ranjit Dev and his successors. Of similar character are a few Persian letters of Mughal and Afghan overlords written to these rulers of Jammu. The Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba preserves a number of *Takari* letters and agreements which were exchanged between the Rajas of Jammu, Basohli, Bhadarwa and Kishtwar on the one hand and the Rajas of Chamba, Kangra and adjoining states on the other. These records, which pertain to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, are valuable for the study of the conduct of rulers of Jammu principalities in war and peace. A similar collection of about 70 *sanads* and documents in Persian, pertaining to Gulab Singh's period, and known as Chattar Singh Collection, are preserved in the State Archives, Patiala.

The State Archival Respository at Jammu, however, is the richest mine of Persian Dogri and English records, including correspondence with the British Government and local chiefs and officials, Government *Irshads* (orders), and papers of general information, pertaining mostly to the period after 1846 A.D.

These original sources are indispensable for the reconstruction of political, economic and administrative picture of Jammu territories during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The remanants of art and architecture, coins and Medals, as well as other archaeological objects, which have now been discovered in this region in appreciable quantities, serve as first hand pictorial sources for the cultural history of Jammu. The stone temples of Babor and Krimchi may be assigned to as early a period as the seventh to tenth centuries.

The terracotta figures excavated at Ambaran and Akhnur parallel the figures of Gandhara Art in execution and grandaur, may be assigned to a period between 700 and 732 A.D.[42] The art of statuetary and temple architecture in Jammu hills was as perfect as anywhere else in northern India and seems to be a part of the countrywide style that swept over India from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. Several old shrines belong to pre-Mughal and Mughal days. The fort of Mahorgarh, and the palaces of Ramnagar and Basohli were once famous far and wide for the exquisite beauty and embellishment. The latter was considered the wonder of the hills before it was destroyed by the invaders from Chamba in about 1774 A.D. Thus in spite of the difficult terrain and scarcity of amenities found in fertile plains, this mountainous region was in no way lagging behind its neighbouring states of those days.

In the field of the art of miniature painting and murals Jammu territories were one of the prolific producers. Hundreds of paintings

42. Fabri, Charles, *Bharat Ke Murti-shilp*, Hindi Trans., Rajpal and sons, Delhi, 1970 p. 51.

of high standard belonging to Jammu, Basohli, Ramnagar and Jasrota schools adorn the Art Galleries in India and abroad. Their study throws much light on the social and religious conditions of the contemporary courts and society. All art reflects the social and intellectual attainments of the people who creates it. The standard of art and architecture attained by the people of Jammu region throughout the last twelve centuries can be a matter of pride for any race. The decorative and floral designs and murals on the walls of the old palaces of Jammu, Ramnagar, Basohli, Riasi and Punch and several temples are still extant. Though these belong to the latest period yet these speak highly of the artistic achievements of the Dogras during the 17th and 18th centuries. The 'Baoli art' was also popularly cultivated throughout this region. Several such lovely cisterns are scattered all over, decorated with stone friezes of rare exquisite loveliness. Several hill forts, *sarais* and mansions belonging to Mughal days are still standing in Rajouri, Bhimber, Naoshera, Punch and their suburbs.

The inscriptional and numismatic finds from this region are extremely scarce. A few signed and inscribed oval stones, and two stone slab inscriptions probably in Sarda-Takari script, one from Akhnur and the other from the shrine of Uttar Behni, have been removed to the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, lying there yet undeciphered. A small hoard of silver and copper coins, almost all belonging to the Mughals, and a few to the latest Dogra rulers, is all that the Dogra Art Gallery possesses. Ranjit Dev also issued coins, and four of his fabric, having much historical value, have been noticed by C.J. Rodgers in an article in the Journal of the Numistic Society of Bengal. This important and the most reliable source of history is yet very scanty in Jammu principalities.

Last of all the accounts of European travellers and missionaries and the records of the British officials of the East India Company are exceptionally very extensive source for the history of Jammu during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Travellers like George Forster (1783), Moorcroft and Trebeck, Baron Charles Hugel, Victor Jacquemont and G.T. Vigne journeyed through Jammu territory and wrote about it in their travellogues. The British Government also envinced great interest in the history and country of the Dogras and their politics, and their agencies at Kaithal, Karnal, Delhi, Ambala, Simla, Ludhiana, Ferozepur and Lahore, and their secret agents, like Mirza Saifuddin of Kashmir, sent reports of the political activities of the Dogras to their British masters, which, when used judiciously prove quite useful a source for the modern history of Jammu. Such information is containcd in the files of *Punjab Akhbarat*, Punjab intelligence and MSS in the ational Archives Delhi and State Archival Repositories at Patiala, Jammu and Kashmir. Some records pertaining to the period of Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh are a part of the family collections in England and Scotland, of former Governors-General of India. A large number of files in the erstwhile India Office Library in England, Parliamentary

Papers, secret reports and consultations of the Foreign Department, refer to political events of Jammu region and the career of Gulab Singh and his brothers and successors.

Finally, a large number of books have been written by foreigners, who were in the service either of Lahore Darbar or the British Government of India. These books refer to Jammu affairs rather frequently. But as these were written with some purpose and prejudice so these need be used cautiously. Some of the important works of this nature have been given in the Bibliography at the end of this work.

This survey of sources of the history of Jammu reveals that, as in the case of other regions of India so with Jammu, sources for ancient and early middle ages are very scanty and unreliable. In case of certain periods these are altogether non-existent ; Archaeological sources particularly have not so far been tapped and discovered. The result has been that with the existing knowledge a connected and altogether reliable history of Jammu territory seems to be an impossibility. This, however, applies to the period prior to the eleventh century. For the history after that date we are lucky in having a varicty of reliable sources at our disposal which enable us to come out of conjectures and to work out an interesting and almost trustworthy account of the country and people of Jammu.

CHAPTER TWO

Antiquities And Pre-History of Jammu

SECTION A : PRE-HISTORIC JAMMU

(1) Stone Age Culture in Jammu :

THE JAMMU REGION, comprised of submontane and mountainous surface fringed in the south by the south-ward sloping strip of plain, represents a typical habitat for the primitive man. Spreading from the Jehlum to the Ravi, containing elevated and low lands, high and firm river banks, abundant natural flora and fauna, and above all loose stone pebbles and rocks of all descriptions, It should provide a congenial and ideal shelter to the primitive human society. Hence its surface and under surface may be strewn with antiquities and traces of early man, although much excavation work has not been done to uncover the mysteries of the archaeological ages.

Whatever little excavation and survey work has recently been done in the districts of Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur at some stray and scattered spots, it has yielded stone tools belonging to the early man, termed as pre-Soanian and Soanian in relation to those discovered at this known site. The Soan valley is in Western Punjab near Rawalpindi where a significant discovery of stone tools was made by Dr. D. N. Wadia and others between 1928 and 1952. The tools found there show a kind of evolution in the sense that the earliest tools are large and rude whereas the later ones are smaller and fine. These have therefore, been distinguished as Early Soan and Soan tools.

Such primitive type of stone age tools have now been discovered in Jammu region also. In Jammu district proper, field exploration has revealed two Soanian pebble sites at Nagrota on the Tawi aud Koota on the Bein[1], which have yielded tools like choppers, scrapers, discoids as main tool-types. A few flakes showing the technique of shaping stones into rough tools, known as proto-levalloisian, were also seen. This type reveals the fact that the pre-historic man of Jammu adopted a more advanced and skilful method of preparing flakes known as the levalloisian technique, which were struck from a prepared core of dressed pebble. Some more sites in the bed of the Ravi have also yielded stone age tools. At Lakhanpur some sites of the Pleistocene Age. i.e., 'the most new' period, extending from some 3,00,000 to about 30,000 years from today, were discovered. A large number of

1. *Indian Archaeology 1966—67—A Review*, New Delhi, 1975, p, 16,

similar tools were found at Kurro, Pingani and Tarra which include pre-Soan type of huge flakes, rolled early Soan unifacial pebble choppers and flakes which are heavily covered on the entire surface with a coating of darker colour, usually red, as proof of their great age. Pebble tools and flakes were also picked up at the neighbouring villages of Mali and Jagatpur. These pre-Soan flakes are large and are of quartzite, heavily rolled and covered with a coating of darker colour (patina), having unifaceted striking platform. Though the pebbles are flat, the cones are well-developed.

In Kathua district also similar Early Stone Age Tools were collected from the bed of the Basantar just near Samba and at Nandi, Mananu and Palth which yielded more than fifty pebble tools of various description, including discoids, flakes and cores. Besides, two sand-stone mace-heads were obtained from Palth along with a gritty red-ware. The pottery is hand made, medium to thick in fabric and shows medium-grained sandy inclusion.[2] Two stray mace-heads were found at Mananu and Diyalachak, some twenty kilometers east of Samba. The region around the village Sutah on the right bank of Basantar river has also yielded early Stone Age tools, comprising a bifacial hand-axe, unifacial choppers, scrapers, discoids and flakes. The southern slopes of the Udhampur district, particularly on the banks of the Gambhir Khad (Jammu Tawi) near the village Kishanpur Nagrota, yielded a few early stone age tools of this kind. "Among the tools, particularly noteworthy was a bifacial hand-axe on quartzite which shows consid-erable rolling. The working edge and the pointed end of this tool are rounded and it shows a yellowish or creamy patina."[3]

These explorations reveal that the habitations of Early and Soanian Stone Age man were scattered all over the Jammu region lying between the Chenab and the Ravi. The Early Soan pebble tools are made on quartzite pebbles, unifacially flaked by using the natural plain surface as a striking-platform and obtaining the sharp working-edge across the length of the pebble. Typologically these tools can be grouped as under :

1. Choppers with round butt and crescentic working edge ;
2. Choppers with pointed butt having irregular working-edge ;
3. Rectangular tools with straight butt aud working-edge ;
4. Smaller-sized pebble tools with round butt and crescentic working-edge.[4]

These tools are associated with the following three flake techniques :

(*i*) Clactonian, (*ii*) Proto-Levalloisian, and (*iii*) Levalloisian.

2 *Indian Archaeology 1968—69—A Review*, New Delhi, 1976 p, 9.

3. *Archeology, 1971-72—A* Review, New Delhi, 1975, p. 24.

4. *Indian Archaeology 1966 66—A Review*, A. S. I., New Delhi, 1973, p. 19.

Clactonian tools are generally crude, large, massive flakes, having unfaceted striking-platform with an angle of more than 90°, the dorsal side retaiuing the natural cortex or roundness, or they are just suitable flakes used as tools.[5] They show the attempt of the earliest prehistoric man for making effective use of stones as tools. The next evolutionary stage in the existence of the pre-historic man, is the Levallois flakes, a peculiar type of flakes struck from a prepared core by a more advanced and skilful method." This technique involved greater skill and precision and accurate use of hammer. The flakes are detached from the prepared cores and show prepared striking-platform. The pre-historic man of Jammu region as elsewhere, adopted another method of flaking which led to the production of uniformly thin, alongated and parallel-sided flakes commonly known as blades[6].

These implements are the evidence of the presence of primitive human society subsisting on stone tools in Jammu region. The technique used in some specimens belong both to the pre-Soanian and Soanian periods. The Soan cultural complex gave a succession of pebble cores and flake industries for the entire stretch of the Pleistocene beginning from the Second Interglacial. Thus all the explorations made to date seem to indicate that Jammu's earliest evidence of human occupation dates in common with North-West India and particularly the Punjab and Himachal, from the Second Himalyan Interglacial, and that pebbles and flakes detached from pebble represent :he predominant characteristic of culture in this region which has been conveniently assigned to the Middle and the Lower Palaeolithic Ages, ranging between one to two lakhs of years from today.

At the same time the rock of the Pinjore stage exposes in this region, and conglomerates contain some pebbles and boulders of fluvioglacial origin, in that they are polished, faceted and striated. These are met with at Khanpur near Jammu and indicate the setting in of the Pleistocene ice-age. Rocks of the Siwalik system are fossiliferous, containing the remains of molars, tusks, limb-bones, etc.. of elephants, hippopotamus, horses, pigs, oxen, buffaloes, etc., Nagrota, north of Jammu city, and Uttar Behni near Purmandal are favourite places for the collection of these fossils[7]. These animals were, therefore, the companions of the pre-historic man of Jammu region which was quite favourable for the habitation both of man and beast.

(2) Harappan Culture in Jammu—The Evidence of Pottery.

With the passage of geological ages, however, the mammoth and hippopotamus, disappeared, and probably migrated towards south, to the regions of the Indus Valley, where they were found till 5 or 6

5. Bhattacharya, D.K., *Pre-historic Archaeology*, Delhi, 1972, p. 27.
6. *Ibid*, pp. 28-29.
7. Mehdiratta, R. C., *Geology of India, Pakistan ond Burma*, second ed., Delhi, 1962, p. 158.

thousand years ago and were represented on the Indus Seals. The primitive man of Jammu region changed during the process of cultural evolution. In proto-historic ages he took to cattle rearing and agriculture and adopted a settled domestic life, building mud or wooden shelters with thatched roofs, a peculiarity which persists in the hills and the *kandi* tracts to this day.

At Jhiri, near Akhnur, some earthen vessels and two fragmentary stone axes of the New Stone Age were picked up. The pottery found here is generally hand-made leading to the conclusion that the people changed their nomadic character of Old Stone Age, took to a settled life and started produce of food. They made pottery and practised agriculure with stone implements. Incidentaly, two stray agricultural tools known in archaeological terms as 'mace-heads', were found at Diyalachak and Mananu. These archaeological finds lift curtain from the face of the proto-historical era of Jammu region, and we see the agro-pastoral man in a comparatively settled civilised society. The picture is represented by pottery shreds. pottery and a few domestic articles.

The exploration within thirty kilometers to the north-west of Jammu city has revealed early historical sites at Akhnur, Ambaran, Guda and Mandli-ka-Merah. In Akhnur plain red-ware, sometimes slipped, was found. The types represented include the bowel with a vertical, sharp-edged rim and sides tapering to a flat, thickened base, sprinkler basin, bottle-necked jar, vase with splayed-out flat rim having cordon below it, handle having deep incised oblique designs and sprouts. A few black-painted red and uncised shreds were also found.[8] At Mandli-ka-Merah and Guda also pottery, including the painted and the decorated variety, similar to that obtained at Akhnur, was found. The types represented were the jar with oblique incised notches on the out side of the rim, the lid, basin, and deep bowel. Some of the painted shreds of this lot recall the ceramic tradition of the Rangmahal culture of north Rajasthan roughly contemporaneous with Kushan and early Gupta periods. Of much interest was a damaged terra-cotta head of archaic type with pinched eyes and nose and slightly uplifted face. The hair style and modelling technique is reminiscent of the Kushan period."[9] Further exploration at more than a dozen sites in Jammu yielded material belonging to the historical and the medieval periods. As already pointed out, Akhnur yielded pottery of the early Christian era represented by the sprinkler and bowel ; whereas Ambaran, Dalpat. Pamberwan, Bahor and a few other sites yielded the bowel and lid and typical Gupta terra cottas of the late historical period. Mediaeval finds were discovered at Ambi, Bamal, Bandwal, Man Chak, Mandiala, Lehrian and Kurora with stamped and glazed pottery.[10] Some shreds have been supposed to belong to the first or second millenium before Christ.

8. *Indian Archeology 1961-62—A Review*, A.S.I., New Delhi, 1964, pp. 16-17.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Indian Archaeology 1962-63,—A Review*, A.S.I., New Delhi, 1965, p. 9.

However, the sensational discovery of a proto-historic site at the village of Manda in Akhnur, on the left bank of the Chenab has revealed the existence of Harappan, late-Harappan red ware, grey ware and black slipped ware. Further excavations at the site revealed three-fold sequence in a cultural deposit, the earliest marked by the arrival of the Harappan represented by the pottery consisting mainly of pre-Harappan red ware and Harappan red ware. Among the antiquities found are copper double-spiral-headed pin having West Asian affinity, bone arrow heads, terra cotta bangles, triangular terra cotta cakes and also pot shreds with Harappan grafti.

The next period is determined by Harappan red ware and grey ware. This period is followed by pottery of early historical period, which, in its last phase is followed by Kushan pottery both incised and plain and includes terra cotta figures, bone arrow-heads, iron daggars and copper antimony rods. Such cultural remains have been found at several other sites in Jammu and Akhnur tahsils, viz., Tikri Mounds, Guru Baba ka Tiba, Batda, Jhiri, Gullwade, Jafarchak and Dhetrial. These finds give us the cultural sequence of Jammu from the Harappan age, about 2,500 B. C., to early Christian eras.

(3) Antiquities of the Proto-historical Period.

Of much interest and importance are the Akhnur-Ambaran terra-cottas a number of which were found by Dr. Charles Fabri unnamed in Lahore Museum. Later, when he visited the desolation of the hamlet of Pamberwan near Akhnur, he discovered a number of fragments of terracottas and one lovely little head of a woman almost complete and entirely identical with the heads in the Lahore Museum.[11] In the course of explorations during 1961 and 1962 a fairly large number of similar terracotta heads were discovered at Ambaran, ascribable variously to the fourth, fifth and the eighth centuries.[12] These include Buddha-heads of the finest and natural quality, in various sizes, and a large number of male and female heads, all with ornamental head-dresses and curly hair. Of these the Buddha head in Mr. S.N. Gupta's collection, and 'The Sufferer', 'The lady with the Dreaming Eyes' and the 'Prince of the Sad Countenance' are the most exquisite and unrivalled in execution. The Aknur terracotta school seems to be a unique one in style and is free from Greaco-Buddhist influence, though it may have been originated in the Gandhara school of Art. The site which Charles Fabri visited had remains of a Buddhist monastery, probably of the Gupta age ascertainable from three coins, later Gupta coppers, about 500 A.D.,[13] which were found there. The finest of these many scores of terracotta pieces is the 'Great Buddha of Akhnur' with a princely visage and well cut lips, possessed of great dignity and natural nobility.

11. Fabri, Dr. Charles, "Akhnur Terracottas"—*Marg*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, March 1955, p. 61.
12. *Indian Archaeology 1961-62—A Review*, New Delhi, 1964, p. 17.
13. Fabri, Dr. Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

These and many more male and female heads are proof of the acme of art reached by the people of Jammu region. They speak of highly cultured society which inhabited this land during the centuries before Harshavardhana's rule. These figurines of burnt clay seem to have long history of their own. They reveal late Gandhara influence, and though some specimens are devoid of spontaniety and freedom of the early Gandhara, these fragments are within their own limit and are excellent exan ple of modelling, and possess the distinction of being the earliest examples of such an art in this region.

Akhnur has also y elded some interesting shell-inscriptions on rough unhewn pebbles found in the compound of the Kameshwara temple. These are the pilgrim-records, engraved in the southern ornamental characters, the so-called conch-shell script, of about 6th-7th century. The inscriptions mention names of pilgrims like Sahu-vijneya, Sukhigamti, Mahiso, Bhupamgama, Nahusha and Balasrayavirya.[14] The most interesting bearing of these south Indian inscriptions found in this far distant northern region, is that southerners, the ardent devotees of Siva, used to come on pilgrimage to such a distant place, a fact which proves the presence of a great and famous Siva shrine in the area during the ancient ages. It also corroborates the tradition of the Ambariyan Rajputs that Ambaran, which was once their capital, had been named after Amba, a name of Durga or Kali, the consort of Siva. Probably there was a far-famed Siva temple at the site which was possibly pulled down later by the Muslim invaders.

Another document of note is the Trisula or Trident inscription found in the Siva temple at Shuddh Mahadeva, engraved on the broken shaft of an iron Trishul. The writing consists of three lines and is only partially preserved. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the characters belong to the north-western variety of the Indian alphabet of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.[15], or probably seventh century.[16] It mentions such rulers as Vibhunaga. It is interesting to note that this ruler also figures in another trident inscription at Gopeshwar, District Chamoli of Uttar Pradesh. The names of several Naga kings are mentioned in Samundragupta's pillar inscription, the nine Nagas, who were conquered by the Emperor in North India. During the 3rd and 4th centuries two families of Nagas ruled, the one from Mathura and the other at Padmavati in Gwalior, the latter being the more important one, and its rulers were most probably known also as the Bharasivas. The Bharasivas were ardent devotees of Siva, and "were very particular to carry always a Sivalinga on their shoulders." They gave a prominent place to Siva's emblem Trishula and vehicle Nandi[17] The coins dis-

14. *Indian Archaeology 1961-62*, p. 81 ; *Ibid*, 1962-63, p. 50.

15. Agrawal, Jagannath, "Suddh Mahadev Inscription of the son of (Maharaja) "Vibhunaga", *V.I. Paper Series—194*, Hoshiarpur. 1967.

16. *Indians Archaeology 1969-70—A Review*, A.S.I., New Delhi. 1973, p. 47.

17. Majumdar, R.C. and Altekar, A.S., *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, Rep. Banaras, 1954, pp. 33-34.

close names of some ten Naga rulers, including Vibhunaga and Ganapatinaga'[18] and some of these ruled in the north and north-western Punjab also. Our inscription has been partially read as under :

Text : 1. सिद्धम [।] स्वराज्य संवत्सरे पंच·····ल·····सत
2. विभुनागस्य पुत्रे [ण]·····पतिना लोक (?)
3. गच्छन्ति ये तु क्षयं·····

Translation : "Success has been attained. In the year five of his own rule .....by the son of (Maharaja) Vibhunaga, the lord of.....(the benefactor of the) world.....but those who perish....."[19]

This record, though brief and imperfectly preserved is important for the reason it proves that in the 4th century A.D., Suddh Mahadeva was regarded as a sacred place worthy of the visit by the king.[20] The Kala Dehra Temple, Babor also bears an inscription in Sharda characters of 8th or 9th century. Two inscribed stones in local script also lie undeciphered at the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, and a large number of Baoli inscriptions are awaitihg deciphement to divulge historical secrets they bear.

The antiquities and archaeological finds of Jammu lead to the inevitable conclnsion that it witnessed the entire cycle of cultural evolution of north Indian society. It has been the cradle of man from the early geological ages,—the old and the new stone ages ; and the pre-Soanian and Soanian primitive man made the rugged plateau and river valleys of Jammu his habitat. He evolved the whole span of his crude culture in these hills, probably being influenced by his brethern in the adjoining plains, into a finer and advanced society of the Harappan era, followed by still more cultured pattern represented by the artistic terracottas living in elegance even with those of the Gandhara schools. The primitive and the historical society of Jammu seems to have been a part of that of the northern India and in that capacity, was influenced by all the cultural currents which swept from age to age over the whole of north India from Bengal to Baluchistan.

SECTION B : JAMMU IN VEDIC AND CLASSICAL LITERATURE

Physical Features :

The territory of Jammu closed on the north aud west by lofty mountains. is quite open towards tha south, where its arid, stony lowlands merge into the Southern plain Its inner mountains contain pleasant and cool valleys inter-spersed by streams flowing with crystal clear water. All this is so pleasant, lovely and inviting that we can presume, tribes in ancient ages might have made this land their abode and pre-Aryan and Aryan society must have inhabited this land,

18. *Ibid*, p. 34.
19. Agrawal, Jagannath, Op. cit.
20. *Ibid.*

so easy of approach from the south and the south-west. We can therefore expect some stray references to the geography and topograpay of this country in the Aryan literature. Most of the mountains and rivers might have been referred to but it is not possible to identify all these references. The mountain system finds references in early literature. The Pali literature, for example mentions 'Chulla Himavanta' and the *Nilamata Purana* refers to the same inner Himalayas as 'Antargiri' spreading from Kishtwar and Bhadarwah to Punch and Rajouri[21]. The *Mahabharata* and the *Astadhyayi* know one more division 'Upagiri' which signifies the Tarai or Siwalik range[22] spreading in Jammu and Kangra region. Another well known mountain, 'Usiraka' finds mention in the *Nilamata Purana*[23] and the same mountain seems to have been called Usiradhwaja in the *Vinaya* texts, Usiragiri in the *Divyavadana* and Usinara in the Pali literature[24], and it seems to possess some sacred character which gave it a special place in religious texts of the old. It may probably have been another name of the mountain containing the shrine of the goddess Vaishno. This tri-peaked mountain is now known as Trikuta, and may possibly have been the Trikakuda of the Vedic texts. Similarly, the Kalakukuda Anjangiri and Lohitgir perhaps refer to Kalakot and other iron and coal bearing ranges of Riasi and Kishtwar.

A local *Purana* of Kashmir and the surrounding territories, belonging to 600-800 A.D[25], refers to the Jammu region as a part of the Madradesh, which was respected for its rivers like Apaga, Chandra-bhaga, Devika, Iravati, Tausi and Udda and Visvamitra. Of these the Devika has been considered the most sacred and finds mention in the *Mahabharata*, *Amarkosa*, *Brihatsamhita* and a number of *Puranas*[26], and is still called in Jammu by the same name and flows through the Punjab (Pakistan) under the name Degh or Dek. According to the *Visnu Purana*, the famous tirtha, Pur, now called Pur-mandal in Jammn regions is located on the bank of the Devika.[27]. Apaga is another river of Jammu region mentioned in the *Nilamata* and even earlier works and the same may be identified with the Ayuk or Ayek Nadi.[83] The Ujh river flowing through Kathua district has been mentioned by Panini as Uddhya and Urddha and Udda by *Visnudhar Mottara*

21. Agrawal V. S., 'The Himalayas in Sanskrit Literature, *The Himalayo*, No. 1. p. 85,
22. Ved Kumari, Dr. *The Nilamata Purano*, Vol. I. p. 24.
23. *Ibid*, Vol II, v. 966.
24. Law, B.C. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 132.
25. Ved Kumari, Dr. *The Nilamata Purana*, vol. I. p. 14.
26. *Mbh.*, Bhismaparva IX. 16, *Padma Pu*,, III. XXV 14, *Vishnn*, 81, 5, 89·7, *Amarkosa*, I.10.36, *Brihatsamhita*, XI 35 ; *Kalika* Pu, XXIII 137 ; *Astadhyayi, VII* 3·1 ; *Mahabhasya* (ed. Keithorn) III, p. 316.
27. *Vishnu Pu.* Ch. XV v. 6.
28. Cunningham *A. Anc. Geog of India*. pp. 156, 176, Dey, N.L. Geog Dict., p. 9.

Purana and the *Nilamata* respectively.[29] Panini also mentions a river Bhidya, identified with Bein, a neighbour of the Uddhya or Ujh.[30] Kalidas refers to Ujh (Uddhya) and Bein (Biddhya) in flood and compares them with the youthful couple, Rama and Lakshamana. The Nilamata also mentions a stream, Visvamitra, in the neighbourhood of Ujh, which may be identified with Vasantar river flowing past Samba. A group of streams of the Jammu region under the common name Tausi or Tohi,[31] finds mention in ancient literature. the *Ntlamata P.* the *Rajatarangini* and other works. One such river flows by Punch, another by Naushehra and a third by Jammu and are known after the name of these town, such as the Jammu—Tohi, which rises in the hills of Shudh Mahadeva, and joins the Chenab near Sialkot.[32]. The two great rivers of the region, the Ravi and the Chenab find frequent mention in all the great literature under their ancient names, Iravati or Purushini and Asikini respectively. The geographical features of the Jammu were thus well known to the ancients.

Ancient Tribes :

The early inhabitants of this area also find mention in ancient and later literature, although much trustworthy and detailed data on the subject cannot be extracted on account of the high mobility of tribes in ancient Punjab and the Hills. In ancient times, Jammu like the rest of Indian sub-continent, was inhabited by non-Aryan aboriginal tribes on most of its soil. These dark-skinned people, who seem to have left behind their true descendent in the low castes like Domb (Dum) and Megh, Batwal, Koli and their akin people. According to the Rgveda, Shambar, the leader of a people inhabiting the sub-montainous upper reaches of the Parushini, that is, the Ravi, had offered tough resistance to the early Aryan adventurers, for forty long years. He belonged to a race of dark skinned people, who worshipped *Shishna*, i.e., phallic symbol. The *rishi* Vashishta calls them "Shishnadevas". They had at least 100 stone castles, to destroy which Indra, the battle-god, was invoked time and again by the Vedic priests[33]. This probably refers to the ancient inhabitants of the upper Ravi valley, on both sides, including the Kathua belt of Jammu region. The local tradition also postulates that the dark-skinned Meghs and Batwals were the original inhabitants of this region. The scholars like S. Levi. Przyluski, and Graham Baily also identify the pre-Vedic peoples of this region as Austro-Asiatic races with a substra um of a dark-skinned people who may be termed as proto-Dravidians. These were probably the

29. Astadhyayi, III. 115. *Visnudhormottra* Pu. I. 148 *Nilomata Pu-* vol. I. p. 109.
30. Aggarwal, V.S., *India as known to Panini*, pp. 43-47.
31. Prof. Buhler regards Tausi as the ancient form of the term Tohi (Tao Tawi in Dogri dialect), see *A Report on a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS., etc.* 1877, p-3.
32. Ved Kumari, Dr. *The Nilamata Purana*, Vol. I, p. 35.
33. *Rgveda*, VII., 21.51 V. 42.14 : VII. 5 50, 21.5I.

Audumbaras or Odumbaras, refered to in the *Ganapatha*[34] of Panini for the first time and later mentioned in the *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas*,[35] *Brihatsamhita*[36], *Kasika*[37] and *Ganaratna-Mahodadhi*[38].

J. Przyluski opines that the Audumbaras were a non-Aryan tribe and belonged to the Austro-Asiatic race The very name Udumbara has come from a non-Aryan language. In his opinion 'Domba', i.e., Dum, meaning in Sanskrit a low-caste man, has decended from Odumbara, and it appears in the list of Mlech as in Jaina books[39], Audumbaras were a part of a large confederacy of Salvas, including Madrakaras or Madras[40]. Madras and Audumbaras were thus the most ancient inhabitants of this reglon and date back at least to 700 B.C. wheu their confederacy, the Salavas, find mention in the *Satapatha Brahmana*[41].

According to a legend, Vayusi-tasava had seven children—three Salavas and four Madras, by his wife Bhadra Kaksivati. Madra people had their capital at Sakala or Sagala which appears to have been derived from Saka, 'Scythian'. Thus the Salava and their confederates, including Audumbaras and Madras, seem to belong to the Shaka race. Their ancestor, Vyusitasava, is probably Sanskritised form of the Iranian name, Vistaspa, the father of Darius[42]. This fact also proves the non-Indian origin of these ancient races of the Jammu region. They were a co poration of warriors and enjoyed the title of rajas. The great scholars like Uddalak Aruni and Yajnavalkya belonged to the Madra. Panini about 700 B.C. refers to Madra as a country of Sanskrit speaking Brahamans. This country may have once extended from the Indus to the Satluj[43], and the river Devika is said to have its rise in the Madradesa.

The Madra country thus seems to have a vast territory which included the Jammu region with its divisions of Darva, Abhisara, Khasha. Udumbara and others. After the fall of the Mauryas they were conquered by Greeks and Parthians. But they seem to have

34. *Ganapatha*, IV. 2.53, enumerates the peoples classed as the Rajanyas, and the Udumbaras were one of them.

35. The *Puronas* like the *Vayu* 9I.98 ; *Brahmanda*, III, 66.70 ; *Markendeya*, 58.10 ; refer to the Audumbaras.

36. *Brihatsamhita*, XIV, V 4.

37. *Kasika* Damodara Shastri's ed., p. 121, 4.1.73.

38. *Ganaratna-Mahodadhi*, Eggeling's ed., d. 314. v. 266.

39. Hobson-Jobson, 'dome'.

40. The *Chandravyaharna* counts the following six republics which formed the Salava confederacy :
"Udambara, Tilkhala, Madrakara, Yu andhra, Bhulinga and Shardanda are the sections of the "alavas".

41. Dasgupta, K K., *"The Antiquities of Audumbaras,"* *Procdgs. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, Delhi., 1960 p. 46.

42. *Mbh* , I. 121, 4695 ff.

revived their independence for sometime at the rise of the Guptas. Their mention in theAllahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta shows that they had re-established their independence sometime before the middle of the fourth, century A.D. The country between the Ravi and the Chenab was known as Madrades[44]. There is no doubt that Audumbara republic disappeared in 2nd-1st. century B.C., and did not revive afterwards. Probably they merged in their akin people, the Madrakas, and both disappeared when new tribal States of the Hunas, Takkas and Gurjaras arose in the north-west Punjab.

Although Jammu region was a part of the great confederacy of the Salva-Madrakas. yet there were several smaller republican tribes in this region. Of these, the names of Darvas, Abhisaras, Khasas, Gurjaras and Durgaras have been preserved in the written records, from pre-Christian eras to about tenth century A.D.

The Darvas and the Abhisaras were two different tribes, but were sometimes coupled together as Darvabhisara, particularly when the geographical territory of the Hills between the Ravi and the Jhelum was to be denoted. Darvabhisaras are mentioned in the *Mahabharata*, the *Britbatsamhita* and the *Puranas* among the tribes of the Punjab. Tha *Puranas* attribute the origin of the Darvas to the legendary Chandravansi king Usinara. One of his queens was named Darva whose son was known as Darvin. From him originated the royal tribe of the Darvas. The Jammu Balaor territory which they inhabited, was known as Darva.

The *Markandeya* and *Brahmanda* Puranas also mentioned Darva, Varahamihira counts the Darvas along with the Abhisaras, Khasas. Dardas and others. Darva, the country of the Darvas, has been identified with the Jammu-Balour region[45]. The expression Darvabhisara occurs mostly as a continuous territory, including provinces of Punch, Jammu, etc.[45] The Abhisaras, however, were a separate people who helped the Asskenori in offering resistance to Alexander but afterwards made alliance with the latter who confirmed their rule under the title of Satrap[47]. Thus the Abhisaras were a powerful people as early as 326 B.C.

Khasa is another important tribe of the region which finds mention among the mountain tribes, *parvatasrayinah*, in the *Markandeya*[48] P.. and the *Brihatsamhita*. Stein points out lhat the Khasas occupied "the valleys lying immediately to the south and the west of the Pir Pantsal range between the middle course of the Vitasta in the west and Kastavata in the east."[49] The rulers of Rajapuri (Rajaori) are

43. *Mbh.*, Adiparva, Ch. II.
44. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, 1957, p. 256.
45. Jaya Chandra, *Bharatabhumi aur Uske Niwasi*, p. 146.
46. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, trans, Vol. I, 180 n.
47. *Camb Hisi.* 2nd ; Vol. I, p. 316.
48. *Markandeya P.*, LVII. 56.
49. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Trans., Vol. I, 317 n.

referred to in the *Rajatarangini* as Khasa-lords and their soldiers as Khasas.[50]

The Naga tribe may also have something to do in the Jammu region where several Naga legends are current. The *Nilamata Purana* probably refers to the migration of some Nagas from Kashmir to Jammu, in the legend of Sadangula Naga. This Naga was an evil one, so the Naga King Nila exiled him from Kashmir and allotted to him the Mount Usiraka in the land of Darva (Jammu). The Shudha-Mahadeva Trishul incription of 4th-5th century A.D., mentions a son of the Naga king, Vibhunaga.[51] The legends of Vasuki and Rehr nagas have been very popular in Jammu, and may have retained reminiscences of some Naga invasion and occupation of the land.

The mention of Gurjaras (Gujjars) and Durgaras (Duggars or Dogras), two important tribes of the region, is made during the 8th and 10th centuries. A Rajput kingdom of the Gurjara-Pratiharas had been established in Antarvedi with its capital at Kanyakubja (Kanauj) on the ruins of Harshavardhana's kingdom after 647 A.D. This extended at least up to Thanesar and Trigarta. Another Gurjara kingdom had been established in the north-western Punjab which was invaded by King Lalitaditya Muktapida, A.D. 700—736. And the *Rajatarangini* informs us that "The ruler of Gurjara gave up to him humbly the Takka-land, preserving thereby his own country....."[52]. The Takka-desa or Takkavisaya, has been identified by Cunningham with that of the "Kingdom of Tseh-kia," which Hiuen-Tsang reached after travelling to the S.E. of Rajapuri or Rajauri.[53] This Kingdom is described as bordering in the E. on the Bias, and in the W. on the Indus. Its capital was She-Kia Lo, i.e., Sakala-Sialkot. The Tak or the Takshak tribe once ruled a large territory from their ancient seat at Takshilla[54]. This kingdom was quite large during the 7th century. As Jammu annals tell us, a dynasty of Tuk Kings of Takshilla ruled over Jammu for some centuries. But towards the end of the ninth century its power must have been considerably reduced.

It was during the Gurjara supremacy in the Punjab that this tribe entered Jammu territorities along with the Durgaras who are first mentioned in the Chamba copper plates, referring to the events of the first part of the tenth century in which 'Durgaresvara'[55] ('Lord of the Durgara') participated.

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50. *Ibid.* VII, 978-79, 1271, 1276 ; VIII, 887, 1486, 1868, 1895.
51. Agarwal, J. N., *op. cit.*
52. *Rajatarangini*, B.K. IV, Verse150.
53. Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.* 2nd., pp. 148-Sqq.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 179. Sqq ; Si-Yu-ki, Vol. I, pp. 165 Sqq.
55. Vogel, J. Ph., *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Calcutta 1911, Part I, pp. 184, 192.

Political Divisions :

A reasonably clear political picture of Jammu region can be gleaned from the ancient literature. The name of Abhisara, as we have already noted, was applied to the whole tract of the lower and middle hills between the Chandrabhaga and Vitasta (Jhelum). A chief of this region under the ethnic appellation of Abhisara figures in the accounts of Alexander's Indian campaigns. In the early middle ages this region was considered part of a wider tract known as Khasal or Khashali, lying to the south of Kashmir and extending from "Kashtwar in the south east to the Vitasta (Jhelum)in the west," and it included the hill States of Rajapuri (Rajauri) and Lohara (Punch)[56]. The Muhammadan records and historians refer to this tract under the name 'Chibhal—"that part of the outer Hill region lying between the Chinab and Jhelum rivers"[58]. which stood for "the country of Bhimbar and Chibhal including Punch[59].

Pruntsa or Punch was probably the first state to be founded in the Abhisara tract and may have existed much earlier than the visit of Hiuen-tsiang : Its capital in ancient days was Lohara, a town to the south-east of Punch. In Hiuen-tsiang's time, who visited Punch on his way from Kashmir to Rajauri, the state extended over an area of 2000 li[60] li or 333 miles in circuit. The earliest name was Lohara[61], but in Hiuen-tsiang's time the State had come to be known by the name Parnotsa. In A.D. 830, there seems to have occurred a political revolution in Parnotsa when Lohara State was founded by Nara, a local petty chief of Khasa tribe[62].

The most important and powerful of the hill states of this territory was certainly Rajauri, whose ancient recorded name was Rajapuri, lying in valleys which are drained by the Tauhi of Rajauri and tributaries[63]. The first historical notice of Rajapuri occurs in the travels of Hiuen-tsiang, who in A.D. 633, traversed the country on his way from Kashmir to the Punjab. when it was snbject to Kashmir[64]. Alberuni describes exactly the position of "Rajawar". and speaks of it as the

56. Stein, M.A., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Eng, tr. Vol. II, note i, p. 180, 432.
57. *Ibid* Vol. II, "Ancient Geo raphv of Kashmir", p. 430 ; *Markandeya Pu.* Ch. 57 ; Charak, *Gulabnama*, Eng. tr , p. 111, n 3 and p. 78, n. 4.
58. Drew, F., *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, p 57 ; Charak, *op cit.*, p. 157, n. 2.
59. *Document No. M/507*, State Archives, Patiala.
60. Stein, M.A., *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., IV. 184 n. II, p. 433 ; *Si-yu-Ki*, Beal, S., tr., Vol. I, p. 163.
61. Beal, S., *Si-yu-Ki ; or Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1881-2, Vol I, p. 163.
62. Hutchison. J. and Voghel, J.Ph. *HPHS*, Vol. II, p. 721.
63. Stein, M.A., *op. clt.*, Vol. II, p. 433.
64. *Si-yu-Ki*, Vol. I, p. 163 ; Stein, *op. ctt.*, Vol. II, p. 433 ; HPHS, Vol. II, p. 48.

farthest place in which Muhammadan merchants in his time traded[65]. He also speaks of its capital and the stronghold of Rajagiri as lying on route from Kanauj to Kashmir, via Pinjore, Dahmala (Dhameri or mod. Nurpur), Ballawar (Basohli), and Ladda[66].

The other States of Abhisara region, viz., Bhimbar, Khariali, Mirpur and Akhnur, were found subsequent to the fourteenth century.

The political condition of the Darva or the Dogra territory between the Chandrabhaga (Chenab) and the Iravati (Ravi), can also be fairly gleaned for the early middle ages, from the *Rajataragini* and other sources. Apart from Jammu and Bhau, the most ancient State formed in this territory seems to be that of Basohli, which finds repeated mention in *Rajatarangini* under its original name Vallapura, (Ballawar-Balor) The first historical mention of Vallapura occurs in the reign of Ananta-deva of Kashmir (A.D. 1028-63)[67]. The earlier name of the State may have been Sumatika, which finds mention in a Chamba copper-plate title deed under the name of Sumatika as having joined the Durgaras in about 940 A.D. in an invasion of Chamba[68]. Vallapura may have been founded earlier, during the 8th century. About a century afrer this invasion a part of the State was formed into a separate State known as Bhadu, [69], probably in A.D. 1043. Later, in the 17th century, the capital of Vallapur or Balawar State was shifted to Basohli on the Ravi and it came to be called Basohli Raj.

Bhadarwah, another branch of Vallapura, also finds mention in the *Rajatarangini* under its ancient name Bhadravaksa[70] meaning literally "Happy Region" and it seems to have become a separate State during the 10th century. The *Rajatarangini* mentions another small principality belonging to the Vallapura group, named Vartula, in the lower Chenab valley, which probably retains its existence in its modern form, Batala[71].

The *Rajatarangini* also makes references to Babbapura, the ancient capital of Durgara, and a few other small states or localities probably situated in the Jammu-Bandralta tract. Vajradhara Lord of Babbapura, finds mention in Kashmir chronicle in connection with the events of the reigns of Kalasa, Sussala and Bhiksachara, rulers of Kashmir during the 11th-12th centuries. A copper coin of Kalasa of Kashmir (A.D. 1063-1089), who was married to Bappika, the daughter of Salvahana of

65. Sachau, Edward C., (tr.), *Alberunil's India*, 2 Vols. London, 1888, p. 208.
66. *Ibid.*, (ed. 1914), p. 205.
67. Stein, M.A.; *op. cit.*, VII, 220-70, vv- 588, 590 ; VIII, vv. 539, 542 and 632.
68. Voghel, J.Ph., *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I, pp. 99 and 182. et. seq,
69. J.P.H.S,, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1916, pp. 89-90.
70. *Rajatarangini*, VIII, V. 501 ; Stein, Vol. II, p. 431.
71. *Ibid.*, VIII, vv. 287 n, 537-541.

Chamba, was found on the site of Babor, which is the modern form of Babbapura[72]. This strengthens the statements of Kalhana bearing some kind of subordination of Babbapura to Kashmir for some time. Kalhana probably refers to this territory as Nilapura and Bappanila ; the latter name sounds like a combination of Babbapura and Nilapura. Nilapura was probably the territory of and around Sruinsar and Mansar lakes.

Similarly, Kishtwar, in its ancient form Kashthavata, is first referred to in the *Rajatarangini* during the reign of Raja Kalsa of Kashmir (A.D. 1063-89), when "Uttamaraja, the rulers of Kashthavata[73]" visited the court of the Kashmiri king in company with several other hill chiefs to pay their respects to the Raja. Afterwards, there are several references to this State in the 2nd and 3rd chronicles[74], and in Ferishta[75].

The other States of the region, like Mankot, Jasrota, Samba, Bhoti, Chanehni, etc., came into existence during the later middle age. The Darvabhisara (Dogra-Chibhali) region, i.e., present Jammu region thus finds frequent mention in ancient chronicles of northern India and seems to have been an important political centre.

SECTION C : TRADITIONAL HISTORY

The ancient historical tradition as narrated in *Rajadarshni* ascribes the foundation of Jammu to about 550 years before setting in of the Kaliyuga[76], that is, in about 3650 B.C. or some 5630 years from today. It claims that Raja Agnigarbh, the founder of the chieftainship of Jammu, spreading over a wide area of Siwalik Hills hedged in by the two rivers, Ravi and Chenab, belonged to the solar race of Ayodhia, which commenced with the primeaval patriarch, Manu. It is presumed to have descended through the famous world-conqueror Ikshvaku, Mandhata, Harish Chandra, Dalip, Bhagirath and Rama till Sudarshan, the twentieth in descent from Rama, the hero of the *Ramayaua.*

Sudarshan had two sons, Agnivaran and Agni-gir. Agni-varan and his thirty-six descendants ; upto the last Sumitra, ruled in Ayodhla. The younger brother, Agni-gir migrated to the Siwalik Hills, travelled via Nagarkot and reached the bank of the Ravi in the region of the present Kathua. There he subjugated the people of the surroundlng

72. *J.R A S.*, 1907, pp. 403 ff ; V.A. Smith, *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol., pl. XXVII. 15

73. *Rajatarangini*, VII, V. 590 ; Stein, I, pp, 30, 315.

74. 2nd Chronicle, Jonaraja, v. 79 ; 3rd Chronicle, Srivara, I, v. 45.

75. Ferishta, Briggs' trans., 1910, Vol. IV, pp. 500, 522, 529.

76. Ganesh Dass Wadehra, Rajdarshni (Persian), Sri Pratap Singh Museem, Srinagar M S. (SPM) folio 53 : "nine hundred years according to some, whereas one thousand nine hundred and ninety years according to others". In Alexander Cunningham's opinion Kali era started on 3102 B.C. (*The Book of Indian Eras*, Indian rep., Delhi, 1971, p. 31), but Prof. Buhler says Kali-yuga started in 3050 B.C.

villages and ruled at Bupanagari and founded the towns of Pushpavati and Airava on the Iravatl[77].

To this small kingdom his son, Vayu-Sharb, succeeded. In his time there was a jogi, named Uttamacharya, who lived in the "Saiva temple at Airava. According to another tradition, Vayu-Sharb married the daughter of the chief of Parol (Kathua) whose name was Airan Devi, and it was in her memory that he founded the town of Airvan-watl, now called Airwan, where her Samadhi is said to exist to this day and has become a place of pilgrimage where a Baisakhi fair is held every year. He extended his possessions upto the Ujh and left these to his son. Parmetra. The latter was succeeded to the chiefship by Puran Singh, Lakhn, Khat-joshan and Agnigarbh, one after the other in succession.

Agnigarbh seems to have been a powerful chief. He had eighteen sons with whose assistance he extended possession upto the Tawi and beyond. After his death he was succeeded by his eldest son, Bahu-Lochan, who transferred his seat of government from Airwan to a spot on the bank of the Tawi which was known as Dharanagari. There he founded Bahu-nagar where stands the famous Bahu fort. The tract to the north and east of this fort is called Dhara-nagari to this day. Probably in his attempt to encroach upon the plain country lying to the south, he came in conflict with Raja Chandar Has, ruler of Madra-desh, *i.e.*, the Punjab, whose capital was probably at Sialkot. In this battle he was killed. "The reference is interesting and probably historical[78]. Tradition affirms the fact that in former times the territory extended much farther to the south than now, and the Raja of Sialkot would naturally oppose such encroachments on his territory. The establishment of a strong state in the vicinity of the ancient capital of the Panjab led to a long struggle between the two powers in which the rulers of the new State of the Duggar suffered several set-backs at the hands of the strongly entrenched ancient State of the Sakalas. Sialkot has been identified with the ancient Sakala, the Sagala of the Buddhist texts which is thus proved to be one of the oldest cities in the Panjab. In very ancient times, probably before Panini, it was the capital of ancient tribe of Madras who are known to the *Satapatha-Brahmana* composed prior to the eighth century B.C. Sakaladvipa or the "land of the Sakalas" was the ancient name of the Doab between the rivers Chandr-bhaga (Chenab) and Iravati (Ravi). During 200-100 B.C. Sakala was the capital of the later Graeco-Indian kings of the house of Euthy-demos, who ruled the Eastern Panjab, and it was the capital of Menander, king Milinda of the well known Buddhist text 'Milinda. panho', who ruled about 150 B.C. At a still later period Sakala was the capital of Salavahana, whose son, Rasalu, is the great hero of the great legends of the Panjab and the Jammu Hills. After the Huna

77. Annon : *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, M.S. Research Department Library, Srinagar (RDL—S), p. 8 ; *Rajdarshani*, folio, 54 a.

78. Hutchison, J. and Voghel, J.Ph., *History of Panjab Hill States*, Lahore, 1933, p. 520. (*H.P.H.S.*).

invasions in the later part of the fifth century A.D., it was occupied by Toramana and his son, Mihirakula (or Mihiragula) who ruled over northern Punjab and also probably over Kashmir. As Jammu is only forty kilometres from Sialkot, and its boundary, even at the present time, is within eleven kilometres of the latter place, "it is evident that frequent disputes must have arisen in the former times, similar to that referred to in the Vansavali"[79].

Bahu Lochan had died issueless so his younger brother, Jambu Lochan, became chief of the principality which had then extended up to the Chenab. He continued the war with Chandarahas, in which the latter was slain. He then annexed Sialkot and brought Abhisara and the neighbouring countries of Hazara and the Punjab upto the borders of Sind under his Sway. After founding a vast dominion, he cherished the idea of building his capital at a suitable place. Incidently, while hunting one day on the ridge on the right bank of Tawi, he saw in the jungle a deer and a tiger drinking at the same pond. Being surprised at the sight he sought explanation of the incident. They replied that the soil of the place excelled in virtues, and for that reason no living creature bore enemity against another. The Raja therefore came to the conclusion that this was just the kind of site he was looking for. He founded the new town at that spot and called it Jambupura[80]. The spot on which the tank was founded is now called Purani Mandi[81], a locality in the centre of the old Jammu town. The Purani Mandi is the spot where the palace of Jambulochan stood and in which the Rajas resided long after him

Jammu has no ancient buildings or remains, nor anythiug to indicate that it is a place of great antiquity. The place has a large popuiation, but its, prosperity is of recent date. probably in Ranjit Dev's reign. The earliest historical reference to the town of Jammu is to be found in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, in connection with Timur's invasion in 1399 A. D. However, the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir-i-Azami* (A. D. 1417), refers to a Raja of Jammu, and speaks of Jammu town "as then about five hundred years old". We may, therefore, conclude that It was founded about A. D. 900. It is quite possible, however, that Jammu may date from an earlier period, as the legend says ; though it may not have been a place of any importance and did not become the capital till a later time. From earliest times, as there is good reason to believe, the capital was at Bahu and the Rajas resided in the strong fort ; and this probably continued to be their residence till they retired to Babapura after the Muhammadan invasions began[82], "perhaps in the nineth or tenth century, which brought the Gurjara power to Takka-desa lying between the upper courses of Jhelum and the Ravi.

79. *H. P. H. S.*, Vol. II, p. 521.

80. Rajdarshani, op. cit., fol. 54 b, 55 a.

81. Mandi among Rajputs is the name in use for the courtyard in front of the house. In Jammu it is outer court of the palace where all state business is done. *HPHS*, p. 521.

82. *H. P. H. S.*, pp. 521-22.

This legend about the foundation of Jammu, however, is not the last word. According to another tradition, there was a cave on the bank of the Tawi river attributed to Jamwant, from which fact the place came to be called Jambu or Jammu. Some people derive the name from Jambulin (Jamnu) tree which grew in abundance on this ridge[83]. These, however, are only myths or shere ingenuity of folk-lore and finds no basis in old literature or records. In the absence of ancient foundations at Jammu, its long antiquity cannot be accepted without any reserva tions[84]. However, several historical events show it is at least as old as the first or second century B. C. Most of the legends concerning Jammu and its ancient annals seem to have been concocted by bards and *charans*, and cannot be accepted at their face value.

Jambu Lochan is said to have ruled during the sixth century of Kaliyuga[86], i. e. in about 2500 B. C. His only son, Puran Karan, became ruler of Jammu. He probably shifted his capital from Bahu to the newly-founded Jammu and is said to have been the first ruler of Jammu. He had two sons Daya Karan ane Dharam Karan. It is interesting to note that Daya Karan became the ruler of Kashmir. A surprising tradition concerning this occurrence is fonnd in Vansavali. Kashmir is said to have been in disorder then, and Puran Karan was appealed to for help He sent his elder son, Daya Karan, who restored order and became ruler of the country. From the line af Raja Daya Karan, fifty-five Jammu Rajas ruled over Kashmir for a period of 653 years[86]. This line of the rulers of Kashmir terminated with Raja Som Datt. One of the distant descendants of Daya Karan was Bhau Dev from whom descended the Bhau branch of Rajputs who claim that their ancestor, Saran Dev, son of Bhau Dev was driven out of Kashmir and he founded the the Sahran State, whose former capital was ot Kaleth, near Akhnur. Thus the Bhau Rajputs of Jammu claim to have migrated from

83. *Rajdarshani*, fol. 55a.

84. Some scholars, not well-versed in the Puranic lore equate Jammu with Jambu divpa or Jambu-marg without any logic and only on the similarity of sound.

85. Kahan Singh Balauria, Thakur, *Tarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, Vol. I. S. 1986 (1929) A. D., p. 3.

86. On the testimony of numerous but varying historical traditions; the author of *Rajdarshani* (SPM, fol, 55b) related that there were twenty-two Rajas of the Jammu line who ruled over Kashmir for 650 years. According to another testimony there were 55 rulers who ruled Kashmir for one thousand and seven hundred years. The author of *Gulabnama* (Eng. trans., S. S. Charrk, p. 9). and Kahan Singh Balarauria *Tarikh i-Ragan-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, *op. cit.*, p. 3) also write 55 generations,

The author of *Tarikh-i-Hasan* writes on the testimony of *Rajatarangini* that the mutual feuds between the Koth Rajas of Kashmir led one of them to seek the assistance of the Jammu Raja, who senf Daya Karan, one of his sons, with a large force to Kashmir. He crnshed the refractory forces in the valley and restored order soon. From this tlme onwards, the Jammu rulers continued to rule Kashmir for 653 years. Nothing is known about the names and events of the reign of these Rajas.

However, Hashmatullah (*Tarikh-i-Jammn*, p. 4) is of the opinion that "the rule lasted for three generations and for 55 pears only".

Kashmir. This fact iends some credence to the tradition of the rule of a branch of Jammu Rajas over Kashmir Valley in that hoary past.

Puran Karan's second son Dharam Karan, ruled at Jammu. He was followed in succession by Kirat Karan, Agni Karan and Shakti Karan, one after the other. The last named Raja is said to have invented the Dogri alphabet. He was a great scholar of Sanskrit aud he ruled according to scriptures—*Shashtras*—and was hence known as 'Raja Shastri'. He extended his kingdom to the water-shed of the Banihal Pir[87]. He also started the Shastri era which begins from the first day of Baisakh.

This line of Rajas came to an end during the rule of Raja Shiv Parkash, who was defeated by Raja Shal of Sialkot, who ruled the Punjab as far north as Gandhara (Peshawar). The town of Jammu was destroyed, and the Raja, being driven from his capital, sought refuge in the inner mountains, where he and his successors are said to have lived for some generations. This Raja Shal of Sialkot is said to be no other than the famous Mahabharata hero, who was the maternal uncle of the Pandus and was killed in the Mahabharata war while commanding the army of the Kauravas. After Shal's death the Pandus annexed his kingdom and Jammu. Consequently, Arjan's son, Babru-vahan, came and occupied Jammu region and founded Babbapura (mod. Babaur) and made it his capital. His descendants are said to have ruled in the Dogra land from Babaur for about 500 years, probably up to 2550 B.C. Jammu thus remained desolate aud abandoned except by some 'Karmath Brahmana', Megh and Batwal families, who, since then. owned agricultural tracts and had been considered zamindars of the region.[88]

The authors of HPHS[89] identify Shal with Raja Salavahana of Sialkot, the Indo-scythian ruler, the founder of the Saka era in 78 A.D., and the father of Raja Rasalu, the famous hero of many legends. The identification, however, is untenable. The name 'Shal' itself exists independently, as in the *Mahabharata* and the Chamba Vansavali, and there was no need to contract Salavahana into Sal if that Raja was meant. The tradition of conquest of Jammu region by Shal of Mahabharata is not improbable being in so close a proximity to the Dogra land, particularly when the rulers of this region have oftenly coveted the possession of Sialkot so often.

After a lapse of several centuries Rajas Joti Prakash and Sarva Prakash re-conquered Jammu after a prolonged battle with the aboriginals who had occupied this territory, after the fall of the Pandava line in the Panjab. Ganesh Dass copies the tradition that Joti Prakash and Sari Prakash, also called Jai Dev, were sons of Dharam Prakash, son of Sham Prakash, who came a few generations after Shiv Parkash,

87. Nargis, Narsing Dass, *op. cit.*, p.53.
88. Anon, *Tarikh-i-Jammu, op. cit.*, p. 17.
89. *H.P H.S.*, pp. 522-23.

and belonged to the line of Shakt Karan.[90] But the new rulers seem to belong to a separate dynasty, though they may have claimed connection with the ousted family, in order to strengthen their right to Jammu Raj.

Bhushan-or Jai-Prakash also called Jai Singh, third or fourth descendant of Joti Prakash, avenged the defeat of Jammu by conquering and destroying Sialkot, and for the time being we see an end to the Jammu-Sakala struggle during the proto-historic period.

Jai Singh ruled for 50 years, and was followed in chiefship by Rattan Prakash for 43 years, Bhushan Prakash for 60 years and Brahma Prakash one after the other. The reign of the last named king is remembered for the great deluge which engulfed whole of the north-western plain of the Panjab and the land between the Chenab and the Satluj became flooded and turned into a sheet of water like a Lake and caused much havoc.

The succession after Brahma Prakash is a little confused. The Anonymous writer of *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, gives the following succsssion upto Bodh Arjan :

1.	Brahma Prakash,	30 years
2.	Jaman Prakash,	50 years
3.	Kishor Inder,	43 years
4.	Ajendar,	25 years
5.	Ra jendar,	55 years
6.	Bri jendar,	30 years
7.	Hari Chandar,	22 years
8.	Haran Kamal,	31 years
9.	Kamal Baran,	41 years
10.	Dhatu Baran,	70 years
11.	Taj Baran,	25 years
12.	Bali Baran,	20 years
13.	Bodh Arjan.	

Kahan Singh Balauria gives the same suecession with the exception that he omits No. 5 and adds Hem Baran between Nos. 11 and 12. He names Ajendra as Narendar.[91] Narsing Dass Nargis also follows the same sequence with the exception that he reads Sindu-Inder at No. 4 mis-reads Dyalu for Dhatu at No. 10.[92] The Jammu history in Brajbhasha, which our anonymous writer translates into Urdu, has followed exactly the genealogy preserved in the State Archives, Jammu.[93] Ganesh Dass also gives the same line of succession with addition of Narendar

90. *Rajdarshani*, fol. 59 a.

91. Kahan Singh Balauria, Toakar, *Thakur-i-Rajgan Jammu wa Kashmir*, op. cit. p. 56.

92. Nargis, Narsingh Dass, *op.cit*, p. 54.

93. *File No. 1352* (*Vernacular*), Table No. 7, 19 (ii)—SAR (J).

between Nos. 6 and 7. He narrates that Narendar killed a cow by mistake, performed expiatory penances, but did not get peace of mind. Consequently, he burnt himself at Purmandal on the bank of the Devika. Raja Tej Baran died in the battle field while fighting against the Rajas of Nagarkot Kangra. He was succeeded by his nephew, Bali Baran, who most probably ruled during the sixth century B.C.

Tej Baran or Tej Varuna is said to have performed penance, first on the Mount Kailash and then on the bank of the Tawi He was a devotee of god Varuna, so the place on the Tawi came to be called Bhairon or Bhair Devata, and became a place of pilgrimage for the people. Later, in the reign of Raja Ajeo Dev (A. D. 1423-1449), fishing became prohibited in that river.

With the termination of the reign of Bali Baran, the epoch of highly legendary history of Jammu region seems to have come to a close. During the large span of about 3000 years or more of pre-history, we have no material to ascertain the facts, except the local tradition and the Pnranic accounts, which are slightly at variance when coming from different sources. However, some local legends and important historical events seem to have been faithfully preserved in the folk memory, as is the case all over the world, pertaining to the pre-historical times. The archaeological finds of this region corroborate to some extend the trend of evolution of history and culture of this region as preserved in oral tradition.

CHAPTER THREE

The Early History Of Jammu Raj

500 B.C. to 850 A.D.

(1) THE FIRST HISTORICAL DYNASTY

After the death of Bali Baran there seems to have occurred a dynastic change with the accession of Raja Bodh Arjan, probably during the first half of the 5th century B C. This was the century marked by spectacular events. It witnessed the birth of a new religious and social reform movement in India initiated by the Buddha. This also witnessed the expansion into the north-west India, of the powerful Iranian dynasty, the Achaemenians. The historical tradition of Jammu seems to capture the impact of both these events.

Raja Bodh Arjan

The ruler of Jammu, who came after Bali Baran, has been acclaimed by the authors of the Vansavali as the most famous of the Rajas of Jammu, who subdued all the chiefs of the Himalayan *Tarai* and the Kingdoms of Bengal and Kamarupa. The Dogra tradition, whatever its worth, attributes to this king conquering expeditions upto Cape Comerin and thence to Sangaldeep or Ceylone. He is said to have married a Ceylonese Princess and returned via Maharashtra. Ujjain, Gujarat, Sindh and Multan to Jammu. But what is the basis of this conjecture is hard to trace. There is no contemporary record to test the verasity of this controversial claim which is contested by several rulers of local dynasties. Ganesh Dass Wadehra states that Raja Bodh Arjan received twenty one lakhs of rupees as tribute from the Indian Rajas[1]. He levied only one-sixth produce of land as revenue from the population of Kohistan which in the local language is known as '*Satha*[2]. The Government officials, e g. *numberdars*, paid 1/10 of their produce. There was no tax levied on the orchards. The merchants whether they were local or outsiders had to pay a tax of Rs. 100 on a merchandise costing one lakh of rupees.

His paternal attitude towards his subjects and baneful measures resulted in the increase of the population of the city of Jammu and it expanded up to the Chak Lehrian in the East, to Top Sherkhanian in the

1. *Rajdarshani*, fol, 77b.
   Tarikh-i-Jammu, pp. 15-16.
2. *Rajdarshani*, folio, 78a.

West, to the South upto Babaliana and Dagyana ; to the north upto Nagrota. The township of Jammu spread on both banks of the Tawi. Beautiful gardens and orchards were laid out in the city. The houses were built of white marble. There was a large tank in the centre of the city which could provide water to the entire city for the whole year.

On the banks of Tawi, a chain of beautiful[3] temples dedicated to various gods, had been built. The temple of Sun was very prominent. The idol of Sun God was made of Gold and its crown contained the most precious jewels. The Priests of Sun God clad themselves in yellow brocaded robes. There were separate temples for all planetary gods, like Moon, Mangal, Buddh, Mustri, Zubra and Sanichar. With all these temples, separate Sarais were constructed for the stay of the worshippers where meals were served free.

In the centre of these temples were constructed a large fire altar where the fire burnt continuously and '*Havan*' was performed with all rituals. The Gods like Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh with different female goddesses occupied a place of respect in their separate temples. A large college was founded where instruction was imparted in the sacred lore of the Shruties and Surities. The students flocked to this institution from all parts of the country. They were looked after by the State and their Board and lodging including their books were a charge on the State. Raja Bodh Arjun died after a long reign of eighty years[4].

The claim of the *Vansavali* is too lofty to be credible, and in the absence of any coins or other historical evidence in any form it is not possible to give any credence to this tradition about this Raja of Jammu, who most probably flourished before 500 B.C. when Hakhamans were founding their rule in Persia. Indian legends name several other rulers, including Mukta-pida, of Kashmir who undertook similar expeditions.

The ruling dynasty of Bodh Arjan continued to rule in Jammu or elsewhere for a period of 357 years and during the period a number of great political upheavals struck the Dogra land, which altogether demolished the structure of the empire and distintegration set in. The neighbouring ruler of Kangra-Nagarkot, Raja Mangal Chand, invaded Jammu and defeated and killed Raj Vallabh[5], the seventh descendant of Bodh Arjan, who ruled Jammu around 450 B.C. All his sons were killed and the city of Jammu with its beautiful mansions and gardens was razed to the ground. Being apprised of the catastrophy of

3. *Ikid*, 78b-79-a.
4. *Ibid* , folios, 79-80.
5. Anon, *Tarikh-Jammu*, pp. 17-18.
Rajdarshani , folio 83a, 83b ; *Kahan* Singh Balauria, *Tarikh-i-Rajga Jammu-wa, Kashmir*, p. 57.

Jammu, Bhanu Jakh or Yaksha, a cousin of Raja Raj Ballabh came from Bharakh to avenge the defeat of his cousin with the aid of Akhnur. Raja Mangal Chand was defeated and killed in the battle but the city of Jammu could not be restored back to its former opulence and grandeur. Bhanu Jakh's descendants tried to build their capitals at Dharanagari and other neighbouring localities but the people could not be attracted to these seats of the Government as they dreaded the repisals by the Kangra rulers. Jammu continued to be populated by the low castes for more than three centuries, and was spotted here and there by thatched dwellings of the Rajas and handful of their courtiers. Due to aggressive designs and raids of the Punjab Chieftains life at Jammu remained unsettled for a long time. In times of raids the populace had to seek asylum in thick jungle foliage and distant mountain fastnesses. The dynasty of Raja Bhoom Datt consisting of six descendants failed to restore and establish themselves firmly on the ancient seat of their forefathers.

During this period, and probably immediately after Raj Vallabh, the sovereignty of Jammu passed away, and it was reduced to a small principality ruled by local Ranas, under the suzerainty either of the Salava-Madras of Sialkot or the Takshaks of Taxila. *Vansavali* seems to have added to the list of succession a number of their Takshak overlords. Raj-vallabh's son and successor was reduced to the status of a small Rana of Jammu where his successors Bhanu Yaksha, Samundar Yaksha, Singh Haran, Mariga Haran, Karma Varma, Jaykar, Dev Kar and Adi-Varah ruled one after the other as vassals of Takslila house, or possibly of the Hukhamanashyas (Achaemenians) of Gandhara.

For a brief period after 500 B.C., part of the Punjab may have formed a Persian province, the Indian satrapy conquered by Darius.[6] In the Behistun inscription of Darayavaush (Darius, I. C. 522, 486 B.C.)., the third sovereign of the Achaemenian dynasty, the people of Gandhara (Gadara) appear among the subject peoples of the Persian Empire.[7] It has been inferred that the 'Indian' (Hidus) were conquered at some date between 519 B.C. and 513 B.C.[8] Khshayarsha (486-465 B.C.) the son of Darius I, maintained his hold on the Indian provinces. But the Persian Empire rapidly declined after his death. Yet Artaxerxes II 405-358 B.C. is believed to have received costly presents from India even in the fourth century B.C.[9].

The Achaemenian Emperors of Persia were thus over-lords of Gandhara region of India which spread on both sides of the Indus, with two chief cities. Pushklavati on the west and Taxila on the east between the Indus and the Jehlum. Probably, the Gandhara province extended

6. *Imperial Gasetteer of India*, Vol. XX, Punjab, 1908, p. 260.
7. *Ancient Persian Lexican and the Texts of the Achaemenian Inscriptions*· H.C. Tolmon.
8. Olmstead, *History of the Persinn Empire*, p. 145.
9. *Ind. Anti.*, Vol. X, 1861, pp. 304-310.

up to the Ravi or Bias and the Jammu region, then known under the combined name of Darvabhisara, was a part of that satrapy. Later, Alexander's march up to the west bank of the Bias was intended to round of the eastern most frontier of the once extensive Persian Empire. Thus it is not improbable that in the struggle between the Madras of Sialkot and the Gandhara satraps of Taxila, Jammu had lost its entity and had been relegated to a subordinate position There is a reference in the *Vansavali* that the line of kings from Adi Varah down to Damodar Dutt, a dynasty of 8 kings, ruled from Takshila, and held away over Jammu, Kashmir as well as the Punjab.[10]

Here it is interesting to mention the historical events of these centuries, narrated by Ferishta, concerning Jammu and the Panjab. With a slight variation of names, he writes that Iskandar (Alexandar) led his army to India and fought with Raja Fur (Poros-Paurava). Afterwards, Sansar Chand (Chandragupta) seized the reins of authority in Hindustan and conquered whole of the country. According to his sources, Fur or Paurava (Purab Sen of the Dogra tradition) had usurped power after killing Raja Dilhu, the founder of Delhi who had ruled for 40 years. This Dihlu was the brother of Jai Chand, Commander-in-Chief of Kaid Raj, and king of Hindustan for 60 years. This Kaid Raj seems to have ruled in the Panjab some decades before the Paurava king. If Paurava came to power in about 340 B.C., Kaid Raj must have remained ruler of the Panjab from about 390 B.C., as he is stated to have ruled for 43 years.

Ferishta further states that Kaid Raj dwelt for some time in one of the cities of Behra, and then built the fort of Jammu. In it he placed one of his adherents, a man of the Ghakkar tribe, named Durg, and made him governor of it. "From that day", asserts Ferishta, "that fortress has remained in the possession of that tribe till now[12] (i. e., upto about 1610 A.D.).

These Ghakhars are in fact Khokhars, who claim a Persian descent, from Sultan Kaid. son of Kaigohar.[13] This Kaid was probably the Kaid Raj who held sway over Gandhara and the Panjab as a Persian Satrap of the Achaemenians, with Jai Chand as his governor of his province of the north-west Panjab. Gen. Cunningham[13] identifies these with the subjects of Abhisari, mentioned by Alexandar's historians as

10. Kahan Singh Bataauria, *Tarikh-i-Rajgan*, p. 57.
The succession given in the *Vansavalis* is as under :
Adi Varaha, Bhumi Dutt, Bhay Dutt, Kusam Dutt, Kahan Dutt, Jai Dutt, Vi Jay Dutt, Damodar Duti,
Cf *File No. 1352* (*Vernacular*), *Table No. 7* (*19-11*) SAR (J);
Ganesh Dass, SPS MS. follo 85 a; *Tarikh-i-Jammu* (Anon), p. 16 Kahan Singh Balauria, *op.cit.*, p. 57.
11. *Torikh-i-Ferishta*, *Introduction*, pp. 36-36.
12. *The Punjab Gazetteer-Rawalpindi District*, p. 31.
13. Cunningham. Sir A., *Anc. Geog. of Iudia*, p. 208.

being king of the hilly country north and north-east of Taxila, mentioned as Abhisara in the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*. The tradition preserved among the Khokhars of Khokharain on the Bias, also confirms their origin from Kabul Shah of Kabul, i.e., Gandhara. These Khokhars became very powerful during the 14th and 15th centuries, and Timur had to kill their leader Sheikha and capture and carry away his son, Jasrath a prisoner in 1399. Timur also mentions of a fort near Jammu which was in possession of a Khokhar chief related to Sheikho Khokar.

The Khokhhr chief thus ruled over the northern Panjab from Takshila during the pre-Alexander period and a number of their rulers have been included in the Jammu *Vansavali*.

Even after Damodar Dutt, the line of the kings who followed, are said to have ruled over Jammu, probably from Gandhara, and have been considered by some to have belonged to a family different from the Jammu ruling dynasty. Kahan Singh Balauria opines that this confusion has arisen because of the fact that some of these rulers went to Kashmir and thence to Kandhar to conquer those countries.[14] These kings are—

Damodar Dutt, Udey Chand, Lakhan Chand, Samudra-Bhushan, Jagat Singh, Bhagat Singh alias Shakti-Bhushan, Gajey Singh, Ajay Singh, Dev Gupta, Ram Gupta, Chandra Gupta, Nand Gupt.

This brings us down to the period in the history of Jammu when the Macedonian invader, Alexander, invaded the north-western India. At that time Ajay Singh, seventh descendant of Damodar Dutt in the above list, was Raja of Jammu, and Purva Sen or Puru or Purva (Poros of Greek historians) was the ruler of Madra country, i.e., the country on both sides of the river Chenab. The Jammu Vansavali gives some elaborate details of the events of those days. Here we come to know for the first time that Goti-Pani was the capital of Paurava which was situated on the east of the Behat (Vitasta, i.e., Jehlum). The place, however, has not been identified: but most probably it was somewhere around modern Gujrat town. Raja Puru returned to his capital after subduing territoris on river Sindh. He received the report that the chiefs of the Hill country had become rebellious and in order to chastise them he started on a campaign of conquest of these areas. Rajas of Jallundhar, Nagarkot and Chamba purchased peace by accepting him their overlord and promised to pay tribute, but Raja Ajay Singh did not submit. He fought an engagement with Raja Puru but was over-powered and brought in chains to Goti Pani. Puru's daughter, however, caught infatuation for him, and he was not only restored to his principality but was also married to the Madra princess, Rani Manglan Dai, Raja Puru's daughter. Late, when Alexander invaded Puru's territory in 326 A. D. and the latter fought a pitched battle, near Nandana according to Sir

14. Kahan Singh Balauria, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

Aurel Stein,[15] Raja Ajay Singh was killed while fighting on the side of his father-in-Law. The *Rajdarahani* states that on the advice of one Mohdi, a deserter from the court of Darius III, Ajay Singh's son Bijay Singh, presented himself before Alexander on his way back, and the latter restored him his ancestral principality. His descendants extended the territories of Jammu upto Jehlum and one Ram Gupt constructed the fortress of Ramgarh in Khari area on the banks of river Jehlum,[16] from where the Ramgaria Rajputs trace their origin.

(2) 'RAI' DYNASTY

After the end of rule of Takshila dynasty with the death of Nand Gupta in the middle of first century B. C. Jammu, seems to have acquired independence once again under the new indigeneous dynasty of 'Rai' Kings, incepted by Adi Rai. According to *Vansavali* his accession fell in the year 3044 of the Kaliyuga era, i. e., 58 B.C. He is said to have been contemporary of Vikramaditya of Dharanagari, Ujjain, to whom he professed allegiance. He ruled for 48 years and was succeeded by his son Dev Rai, who, according to Kahan Singh Balauria, came back to Jammu and made it his capital in about 10 B.C. He married his son Gandharb, in the Salehria family of Samhalur, which he later annexed to his kingdom. Adi Rai had already conquered Bhupa Nagri, where he had appointed his governor, named Gobind Chand who claimed descent from Udey Chand. During these days there lived in this kingdom a great Brahman musician, named Madhu Nal, who was the hero of many a legend. It was during Dev Rai's reign that Christ was born in the west. It was also during his reign that Mr. Andrews, one of the twelve disciples of Christ came to the court of Raja Dev Rai in 39 A.D.,[18] and impressed the Raja with his piety and virtue. He cured the son of the Raja of a disease with his prayers and blessings. Before his departnre from the court of the Raja he gave him two documents written in Assyrian language and script, and instructed him to keep them in safe custody as these would be of considerable use to his descendants after one thonsand eight hundred years. These documents were probably lost during the reign of Akbar. Raja Ranjit Dev ordered a thorough search for them during his reign but no trace was found.[19]

Gandharb Rai, son of Dev Rai, succeeded to the *gaddi* in about 40 A.D. He was the contemporary of Raja of Kashmir who was imprisoned by his brother Hiran and his (Torman's) enciente wife who was the princess of the Surya Vanshi Raja of a minor principality under Jammu, sought refuge in the house of a potter where she gave birth to a son who was named Pravara Sen. Pravara

15. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1931*, Leyden, 1933, p. 4.
16. *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 87.
17. Anon *Tarikh-i-Jammu, op, cit.*, p. 20.
18. *Rajdarshani*, SPM,, folios 91b, 92 a.
19. *Ibid.*, folios 92b; 93a.

Sen when came of age came to Jammu along with his mother and joined service at the court of Raja Dev Rai of Jammu and distinguished himself in the conquest of NagarKot. With the assistance of this Raja of Jammu he regained the ancestral throne of Kashmir.

Gandharb Rai ruled for 35 years, upto about 90 A.D. It was most probably during his reign that the invasion of Ram Dev Rathor took place. to which Ferishta makes short reference in his Introduction. This event might have happened two or three generations after Vikramditya the founder of his era, i.e., about the close of the first century A.D. The Raja ruling in India at that time from Kanaj was Ram Deo Rathor, who led an expedition into the Siwaliks, conquered Kumaum, received submission and tribute from the Raja of Nagarkot (Kangra) and went towards the fort of Jammu. The Raja of Jammu, confident in the valour of his army, the strength of his forces, the difficulty of access, the density of the jungle and the abundance of the supplies, refused to surrender, and came forth to fight. But he was unable to stand against Ram Dev, and his army fled. Afterwards the Raja of Jammu came humbly to wait upon him. He demanded the daughter of the Raja for another son of his, and then departed. From the river Behat, (Vitasta) which descends fram Kashmir, that land of Paradise, into the Punjab, he proceeded to Bengal and the shores of the sea."[20]

Gandharb Rai might have submitted before a superior power which was then rising in Madhyadesa at Kanyakubja and in the east, under the Gupta's in later centuries. But the main centre of power near Jammu territories, was Sialkot, the possession of which the rulers of Jammu coverted from time to time. But the powers emerging from the nort-west, in Gandhar and Takshasila, and sending their tentacles to Sakala and beyond upto Mathura, not only ejected the rulers of Jammu from this ancient seat of power in northern Panjab, but also reduced them to submission so often. The Jammu *Vansavali* refers to such events which might have happened either in Kadamb Rai's reign or in that of his predecessor, Dev Rai, who ruled during the first half of the first century A.D. It refers to the invasion of Raja Salvahan on Sialkot and his recognition of the Raja of Jammu, probably Dev Rai, as his vassal and governor of all the Hill principalities.[21] The *Vansavali* makes this Salabahan contemporary of Vikramajit, whom he is said to have defeated before coming to the Panjab and finally to Sialkot. No doubt there is a jumbling of fact, as usually happened with tribal traditions concerning the hazy past. According to the Yadu-Bhatti annals. Salbahan was son of Raja Gaj, founder of Gajni or Gazni who seated on the throne in the year 3008 of the Samvat Dharma-raja (Yudhishtra), corresponding to 9th B.C. soon the Saka tribes of Khurasan started their invasions, attacked Gajni and killed Guj. Salvahan

20. Farishta, *Tarikh-i-Farishta* or *Gulshan-i-Ibraham* Indroduction, pp. 36—37 Kahan Singh Balauria, *Tarikh-i-Rajgam*, p. 2 and *Guldasia-i-Kannauj* referred to by Balauria.

21. Anon., *Tarikh-i-Jammu*. op.cit., p. 22.

had already been sent to the east long before this event and he had founded Salbahanpoor near Lahore. He fought with tho Sakas, defeated them and conquered the whole of the Panjab. The foundation of Salbahan-poor was laid in S. 72 or A.D. 16.[22] His son was Raja Rasalu who was married to princess Luna of Champa, (Chamba) bad a son by another Rani Achhran, who was named Puran,—all of them popular theme of legends and folklore of the Panjab and the Jammu Hills.

According to Sir A. Cuningham, Salvahana was Raja of Sialkot, then called Sakala, probably about the beginning of the first century A.D. In his opinion he seems to have belonged to the Yadava family. who may have succeeded the Graeco-Indian kings. The first capital of the family, according to Cunningham, was at Gajnipur, now Rawalpindi, from where they were driven by the inflowing tide of the Indo-Seythian or Saka invasions, when they retired to Sakala[23]. Salavahan is said to have defeated the Sakas in a great battle, near Multan and established the Saka era to commerate his victory. He was succeeded by his son, Rasalu, the famous hero of the legends, who also contended with the Sakas, but on his death his kingdom passed to one Raja who was his enemy, and probably a Saka prince[24] of Peshawar according to the Jammu *Vansavali*[25].

Kadamb Rai had very cordial relations with Shalabahan. He ruled for 46 years and was succeeded to Jammu Raj by his son, *Karam Raj*, in S. 181 (A D, 124). He is said to have buried alive his new born girl as astrologers had declared her to be very insuspicious for the Raja

22. Tod. *Annaals and Antiquities of Raiasthan*, Vol. II, p. 177, f n, 6.
23. *Achaeologieal Surrey of Iudio.* Vol. II, pp. 21-22.
24. *H.P.H.S.* Vol. II, p. 522-23.
25. The local tradition concerning Salabahan's conquest of the Panjab and the foundation of Sialkot, is translated as under :—

"After the demise of Gaudharab Rai, his eldest son Kadam (or Kadamb) Raj, also called Kam Raj and Kam Rup, succeeded to the *goddi* in the year 135 of Bikrami, corresponding to the first year of the Shaka-Shalibahan era. It was during his reign that Raja Sahlabhan of Malwa, Ujjain and Dakhin, came to the Panjab. When his retinue entered the desolate country of Sialkot, packs of jackals ushered out of the deserted place and attacked his forces. The Raja, considering the place endowed with a chivalrous spirit, built there a new fort called Shalkot, also written as Sialkot, after his name. He also founded a big city there and made it his capital, Some say that as a jackal in Indian language is called 'Sial' (Siyar), hence the town. came to be called Sialkot. Yet thzre is anolher derivation of the name from 'Shal' i.e. Shali or rice, whtch grow in abundnace in the region, from which, fact the town came to be called 'Shalkot' (house of rice).

In short, Raja Shalabahan conquered the Punjab aed occupied the hills and married princess Luna of Chamba."

After this the tradition follows the well known legend of Puran and Shalbahan's son, Raja Rasalu, Rani Kokila and Raja Hodi, Rasalu's enemy of Peshawar,

Rajdarshani, SPM, Folic 94b-95a, b.

long before her birth. Thus he is said to have initiated among the hill Rajputs, the tradition of burrying alive their female babies at the time of birth.

He ruled for eighty years and was succeeded by his son, Kehar or Khir Rai for 25 years, Khakhar Rai for 32 years, and Sind Rai, one after the other. The last named is said to have ascended the throne in S. 318 (A.D. 260-61). He fought many battles in the hills and subdued most of the chiefs there. This refers probably to the numerous Ranas who held sway over tiny principalities lying in narrow defiles, hammed in by ridges and ranges difficult of access, and who were in the habit of raising their heads now and then. The occasion was probably the rebellion of his vassals of Babaor, who claimed to be *Chandra-wanshis*, descendants of the Pandavas. Sind Rai's contemporary at Babaor was Raja Padam Rai, son of Chatter Rai, who was subdued by force and killed, According to the tradition Babaor had been founded about 500 years before the arrival of the Jammu ruling house in the hills of the Rechana Doab. The Rajas of Jammu subdued the ancient Babbapura principality but did not annex it and it continued as a subordinate chiefship. However, they used to rebel now and then and Raja Padam Rai kept up the tradition of rebellion, but was badly crushed and annihilated and the place was pulled to the ground.

Sind Rai is said to have conquered all the Hill principalities and extended his kingdom into the southern plains upto Sind. He ruled for 50 years upto S. 368 (A.D. 310), and was succeeded by his son Jagat Rai, also called *Narad Rai* and *Sinh Rai*, who ruled for 20 years. He was followed on the throne by his son Dudh Rai for 12 years.

It is not easy to reconcile the annals of Jammu with the recorded history of north-western India. A large portion of the north-western India was occupied and ruled by foreign tribes who entered this part after the fall of the Mauryan dynasty. According to Tranatha, one Virasena established his sway over Gandhara in about 225 B. C. His successor, Subbagasena, tendered his submission to Antochios III, the Seleucid, when he invaded Gandhara in about 207-206 B.C.[26] The great Bacterian Greek king, Demetrius conquered whole of the northern Panjab about 185 B.C., and even extended his sway upto Saketa and Pataliputra.[27] Indo-Greek family which ruled over the northern Punjab was that of Euthydemos, probably Raja Hodi of the Jammu legends concerning Salavahan and Rasalu. Euthydemos ruled from Euthydemia or Sialkot, in the first century B. C. One of his successors was Menander, who also ruled at Sakala. He was known to the Budhists as Milinda, after whom one of the Buddhist text, *Milindapanho*, has been named, According to Tarn he died about 145 B.C.[28]

26. *J.A.S.B.*, 1920, pp. 305, 320.
27. Taran, W.W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 195-97.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

The Greek power in the Panjab and Gandhara was over-thrown by Saka-Pehlavas under their famous king MAUES or Moga, who calls himself, 'Maharaya' in the Texila copper plate. He ruled probarbly about 50 B.C.[29] Gandophernes was the greatest-Indo-Parthian monarch who ruled in eastern Iran and north-western India between 19 aud 45 A.D.[30] The Parthians in their turn were overthrown in India by the Kushanas in about 65 A.D. Vima Kadphices was the first Kushana ruler of the Punjab, who used the epithet, 'Mahashwara' on his coins as also Nandi and the figure of Siva on their reverse, Kanishka, however, was the greatest Kushana emperor who is said to have started his era from 78 A.D.[31] He ruled from Peshawar. He was succeeded in the Panjab by Vasiska, Huviska, and Vasudeva the last named ruling possibly upto 175 A. D.

According to V.A. Smith, the decay of the Kushana power must have been hastened by Persian invasions like the one recorded by Ferishta as having been undertaken by the first Sassanian king.[32] Ferishta relates that Ardhashir Babgan (c. 225-241 A.D.) advanced upto Sirhind from where he retired after exacting tribute from Junah[33]. The rise of the Nagas and other native dynasties, like the Rai dynasty in Jammu hills, was however responsible for their over-throw, In the north-west the Kidara Kushanas extirminated the remnants of the Kushanas. These rulers were probably known to the *Puranas* as the Gadaharas. Towards the beginning of the 4th century A.D., the Gadharas lost a portion of their kingdom in the Central Punjab to the Madras who had "eventually succeeded in establishing their independent republic in the Ravi-Chenab Doab. Sialkot was probably their capital."[34] Though no Madra coins have been found, their existence at this period is known from the evidence of Allahabad inscriptions of Samudragupta.

The territories of Jammu Hills were probably subject to Indo-Greek. Indo-Parthian, Saka- Pahlava and Kushana rulers before the re-emergence of the Madras of Sakala. It seems that several foreign tribes setiled in the foot-hills and the adjoining plain, ruled as jagirdart and petty satraps, and after the fall of central power, established their own tiny principalities under the title '*Rajanka*' or '*Rana*'. Some new Rajput clans of Jammu and the adjoining regions were probably remnants of these foreign chiefs. The rise of Salahrias and Charaks, Katals and Lellotras, may have been from the similar circumstances.

29. Dr. Rayachaudhuri thinks that he ruled after 33 B.C., but before the later half of the first century A.D, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 365). But Sten Konow assigns him about 90 B.C. (*Jaur. Ind. Hist.*, 1933, p. 19).
30. Sten Konow, *Corp. Ind.*, I·1, II, No, XX, pp. 57-62; *Early Hist. Ind*, 4th ed., p. 248, note 1.
31. Tripathi R.S., *Hist. of Anc. Ind.*, 1977, p. 224.
32. Smith, V.A., *Early Hist. of India*, 4th ed. pp. 288-289.
33. HIED, Vol. VI, "*Introduction to Ferishta's History*; pp. 557-58; *Early Hist. Ind*, 4th ed., p. 289-n-3.
34. Majumdar, R.C., and Altekar, A.S., *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, Banaras, 1954, pp, 30-31.

In my opinion the parent clam of Jamwals was probably an off shoot of Saka-Pahlavas. All these tribes of Jammu region seem to have come into prominence during the first four centuries of Christian era. The Khokhars, Gurjaras or Gujars, Khashas and Thakkuras seem to have similar origin. All of these were received in Hindu fold as Rajputs when that great professional group of ruling people came into existence. Numismatic evidence shows that a number of petty rulers like Kritaviarya, Siladitya Sarvayasas, Bhasvan, Kusala and Prakasa, were ruling in the Punjab during the first half of the 5th century A.D. They were probably Kidara Kushana rulers [35] These local Kidara chiefs were swept away easily and completely when the Huna avalanche broke in its full fury by the middle of the 5th century A.D.[36] Probably Madras also disappeared as a ruling tribe from the Punjab for ever at this time.

The greatest rulers of Huna tribe were Toramana and Mihrakula who ruled over Kashmir, Gandhara and a large part of the Punjab from the principal centres of their power in India at Pavvaiya on the Chenab and Sakala, modern Sialkot.[37] They probably ruled from about 500 to 535 A.D. The Huna power was supplanted by that of the Takkas who were ruling between the Jehlam and the Bias when Hiuen Tsiang visited these territories in 635 A.D. The rulers of Jammu were probably subject to these powerful tribes out of which they themselves seem to have grown.

JOGRAI : (also called Jog Raj and Jaggu Rai) ;

His date of accession is variously given. The tradition followed by Ganesh Dass fixed it at Samvat 400, corresponding to the year 265 of the Salivahan era, whereas Kahan Singh Balauria gives the Vikrama year 484 (A.D 427) on the authority of *Baharistan* and *Tarikh-i-Sialkot*. He ruled for 87 years. He had an extensive kingdom which included Sialkot also.

It was about his days, narrates the tradition, that Angpal, the Turwar Rajput, laid the foundation of Delhi near Indarpat, in S. 429 (A.D. 372), and his descendents afterwards ruled there for 490 years, i.e. upto about 860 A.D., before it passed into the hands of the Chohans.

Jog Rai had two sons, Malhan Hans and Suraj Dhar. Malhan Hans, also called Manharas, ruled in Sialkot.[38] He had a large number of sons, among whom he divided a number of villages as jagirs for their sustenance on both sides of the Chenab. In due course of time their numerous offspring took to agriculture. Hence whole of their

35. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Rayachaudhuri*. H.C., *Pol. Hist.Anc. Ind, 6th ed,,* Calcutta, 1953, p. 628.
38. Kahan Singh Balauria, *Tarikh-Rajgan-i-Jammu-war-Kashmir*, op.cit., p. 51.

tribe came to be called Manhas[39], or Malnhas or Manharas after Raja Malhan Hans. The villages of Pargowal, Chaprar, Thub and Ghor-Suha and others belong to them. They were found in large numbers in territories south of Jammu and in small numbers scattered in Shahpur, Montgomery and Hoshiarpur. Bara Manga and Darya Pind were their main habitation[40]. On account of their adoption of the profession of cultivation, they were looked down upon by their collateral brethren, Jamwals, who continued to stick to the ancient avocation of a soldier[41].

The tradition current among the Manhas confirms the above account. It claims Solar origin for them, in direct descent from Rama Chandra, whose descendant Ukalghar took up his abode in the Doab of Sialkot. His son, Jamu Lochan became famous, defeated Chandar Has, Raja of the Madra Des and built the city of Jammu. The ruling family of Jammu and Kashmir are his lineal descendants and owe their family name of Jamwal to him. One of this royal race, named Malan Hans took to the plough and lost status, so that his descendants have been disparagingly termed Manhas ever since. Traditions as to the migration of the Manhas vary. "They say their ancestor came from Ajodhia, but some aver that they settled in Sialkot before they conquered Jammu, while others say they went first to Kashmir, then to Sialkot and then to Jammu. All seem agreed that they moved into Jammu from the plains. It is probably safest to regard the Jamwal as the territorial title of the

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39. Manhasi is a tribe of Rajputs, which was found in large numbers throughout the country below the Jammu border, i,e. in Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, etc., all territories now in Pakistan, from where they migrated to India in 1947 and settled mostly in Gurdaspur, Kangra and Hoshiarpur districts. They were also found scattered in the distri ts of Shahpur and Mont omery and in Una. They belong to the same tribe as the Jamwals. But as the latter were confined to the royal braneh of Jammu and Kashmir and did not engage in agriculture, so they looked down upon their cultivating brethern the Manhas. They used to call their eldest son Raja, and the younger sons Mian, but this probably only appiled to the ruling, or at least principal families. '*Chindavanda*' is said to be the universal rule of inheritance among the Manhas tribe.

They gave daughters to the Salahrias, but did not get brides in return. They intermarry on equal terms, with the Chambial, Guleria, Charak, Bagal and Bagwal Rajputs. Some of them had a curious custom of legitimazation, If a man had a natural son by a woman whom he might have married, he succeeds equally with the legitimate sons, provided the deceased's brother marries her, in which event she was called a *dhual*, But if he did not marry her she was called a *bothal*, and her son a *chhatrora*, and he then was only entitled to 5 per cent of his father's land and five marlas for a building site (*History of Sialkot*, 73).

The Manhas are for the most part Hindus. They pour water on a goat's head at *Mukhtawa*, and consider that his shaking his head in consequence is pleasing to pitras (ancestors).

Most of the Manhas give their Brahmanical gotra as Bharadwaj and adopt that name in religious rites. Their Brahmans are Sarasuts of the Khajur Dogra group. They have to provide dower (dihej for daughters given in marriage to higher septs of Rajputs, but per contra receive dowers with brides taken from lower grades. (*A Glossary of Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pp. 67-68).

40. Anon., *Tarikh-i-Jammu, op. cit.*, p. 24.

41. *Rajdarshani*, SPM , folio 103b,

ruling family or clan of the Manhas tribe, but now confined to the royal branch who do not engage in agriculture, and so looks down upon their cultivating brethren, the Manhas."[42]

3. DHAR DYNASTY

Raja Jog Raj was followed in the ruling line of Jammu by his younger son, Suraj Dhar or Suraj Hans, who succeeded in S. 487 (A.D. 430). With him ushered in Jammu territories the rule of DHAR DYNASTY, which was supreme in the land for 390 years, upto about A.D. 825, and ruled for eight generations. Suraj Dhar seems to have been a noble king and became so popular among his people that he was almost worshipped by them. He was invested with some divine attributes so that having his '*darshana*' was considered auspicious by his subjects. The Vansavali makes Suraj Dhar contemporary of the famous Bhoj Parmar of Dharnagari, the famous hero of many legends.

Suraj Dhar ruled for 56 years and died in about 490 A.D. He had two sons ; Ganga Dhar being the elder, succeeded to the *gaddi*. He ruled for forty-five years and was followed by his son, Devala Dhar, who ruled from about 535 to 585 A.D. He is said to have been a contemporary of Anushirwan of Persia. Ganesh Das narrates an annecdote that on the request of that Iranian king, an Indian Brahman came to Jammu, and with the blessings of Pandit Brij Basi, a councillor of the Raja of Jammu, copied secretly the book of political wisdom, entitled *Kalila-o-Dimna* for the benefit of Anushirwan. The latter king learnt wisdom from the study of that book and thereby got universal fame as a just king[43].

It is related that Suraj Dhar did not have a son for long, so he sought the blessings of goddess Kalka in the Bahu fort and took a vow to offer one of his sons in case he got two. By the divine grace two sons were born in his house one after the other, the elder was named Ganga Dhar and the younger, Sojla Dhar and the latter was offered to the deity in observance of the vow. Consequently he became known as Sojla "Chahrak", i e., "the offered". His offspring became famous as Charak clan of Rajputs of Jammu who owned a large tract of land from the slopes of Bahu fort to the borders of Jammu in the south[44], traditionally including 84 large villages. The genealogy and tradition of the Charak clan confirm the statements of Kahan Singh Balauria and of the *Urdu Tarikh-i-Jammu*. The formation of the Charak tribe took place in about 500 A.D. Hence the fifth century was marked by the birth of

42. Ibbetson, Sir Denzil ; Mac Lagan, E.D., and Rose, H.A., *A Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province*, reprint, Patiala, 1970, Vol. III, p. 67.

43. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., folio 106 b. *The Kalila-o-Dimna* is the Arabic title of the Arabic translation of the famous Sanskrit work *Pancha-Tantra*.

44. Kahan Singh Balauria, Thakur, *Tarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu wa-Kashmir*, p. 58.

two important land-owning tribes of the region of Jammu and the northern Panjab : the Charak[45] and the Manhas.

The history of Jammu during the supremaey of Dhar dynasty relapses into obscurity, and not much details of events are given in the Vansavali after the reign of Suraj Dhar. The line of succession after him includes Ganga Dhar, Devala Dhar, Sarabla Dhar, Kirat Dhar, Ajay Dhar, Bijay Dhar and Bajarla (or Bajar) Dhar. Sarbala Dhar, son of Devala Dhar, ruled probably between 590 and 650 A.D. The only event recorded of his reign is the coming of a Muslim savant, named Roshan Shah Wali, to Jammu who lived for some years near Gumat where he died in about 650 A.D. Sarbla Dhar built a Khangah over his grave whlch came to be known as the grave of 'Naogazah', and exists on that spot to this day. The Raja of Jammu seems to have been friendly to him which accounts for the perpetuation of the tradition and the erection of a beautiful Masoleum over his grave[46].

The reign of the next Raja of Jammu, Kirat Dhar, which lasted from about 650 to 700 A.D., has been marked by the occurrence of a revolution in Delhi which had been founded about three centuries earlier. Raja Bikram Pal, the Tuar ruler of Inder Pat Delhi, committed the folly of invading Rai Tilok Chand, king of Braj in S. 724 (A.D. 667). The latter got help from Jammu, defeated Bikram Pal and conquered and occupied Delhi, where his line ruled for 144 years[47]. These rulers of Delhi maintained a constant communion of friendship with the Rajas of Jammu.

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45. Charaks have a considerable population in Jammu and Ranbir Singhpura Tehsils of Jammu District. From their original seat of Bahu and the neighbouring villages of Deelee, Kalu Chak and Chaodi, they expanded upto Birpur and Mahin. As a result of internacine strugle among the prominent families some of them migrated southwards, upto the borders of Sialkot, and occupied villages of Jagtu Chak, Salainr, Bishna, Ala, Charwah and others, numbering 84 in all. During the demarcation of boundary between the British and the State possessions in 1865 A.D.. two villages, Charwah and Jarwal belonging to Charaks of Jammu, were transferred to the British territory of Sialkot.

    The chief place of the Charaks in later middle ages was Birpur some 20 kilometres to the east of Jammu, a place marked by the 'Samadh' or Memorial of the Brahman 'Data Ran Pat'. As a result of a social tragedy which occurred at this place most of Charak families radicasted all round and went to live in the territories where they are found today In a family feud over land the two brothers drew their swords. Their family priest, Ran Pat, tried to mediate in which effort the one brother, Bangi, killed the priest in the error of fury, and his descendants migrated from that place some changed their caste, and a few families even changed their religion and became Muslims, for fear of 'Brahma Hativa'—'Murder of a Brahman'. In order to appease the soul of the noble priest they raised his 'Samadh' at Birpur where they worship him and seek his blessings on several ceremonial occasions and rites.

46. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, pp. 24-25 ;
    Rajdarshani, fol. 106.b ;
    Kahan Singh Balauria, p. 58.

47. *Rajdorshani*, fol. 107b.

The next two reigns were uneventful, till we come to Bajarla or Bajar Dhar, the last of the Dhar dynasty, who ruled from about 785 to 845 A.D. His reign was also marked by another revolution at Delhi. A certain king, Baldev Chohan, ruled in Hindustan, probably at Kanauj. He invaded Delhi and defeated the last descendant of the Tuar line established there by Raja Bikram Pal[48]. Bajar Dhar's relations with the new rulers of Delhi are not known. There is little doubt in Jammu's subjection to the rulers of Delhi during these centuries. Bajar Dhar probably lost the support of Baldev Chohan with the result that his brothers and rivals made his stay in Jammu impossible. Consequently he fled to Banehr, a place in the territory of Garh-Babaor, and settled there for the last years of his life. He died in about 850 A.D. Before that time a new dynasty had established its rule in Jammu which probably occupied Banehr and Babaor as well after his death.

48. *Ibid*,, folio 107-b.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Rise Of The 'Dev-Dynasty'

The political convulsions which struck the Dogra land about the beginning of the nineteeth century were marked by the ejection of Bajar Dhar from Jammu, and the rise of a new ruling dynasty to the Dogra Raj ; the names of its rulers are suffixed by the terminal 'Dev ! The Vansavali, as usual, treats the succeeding ruler Suraj Dev, as the son of Bajar Dhar. It is not only this striking change which gives clue to the accession of a new dynasty. Some other factors also tended to a change.

A number of fresh political changes were taking place in the north-western regions of India, the most important being Arab invasions from Multan or Mansura and Mukran on the Hindu Kingdom of Kabul and its dependencies in north-western Punjab. Consequently, some tribes from these regions, like those of the Khokhar and Gurjaras, were dislocated who might have migrated north-eastwards, causing upheavals in the hills between the Jhelum and the Sutlej. The kings of Kashmir were also sallying forth from their mountain-ringed isolation, Thus a weak ruler like Bajar Dhar could no longer secure his position at Jammu which was open to frequent attacks of invading armies. For many centuries afterwards Jammu town became relegated to the background and might have remained only an advance post of the Dogra rulers of the 'Dev-dynasty ; who now ruled from their imperial seat in the inner mountains, not for removed from Jammu. The latter place, however, remained a srong out-post of the Dogra rulers, magnificently guarding the entrance to the inner mountains along the Tawi valley, both from the Bahu fort and the Jammu heights.

Thus the new dynasty came to power during the most crucial period in the history of north-western Punjab when centres of political power were breaking up too oftenly and north-western and western inlets into India had become flooded with foreign invaders once again. This dynasty has therefore to brace numberless onslaughts and to struggle hard for its existance. And in spite of all odds arrayed against it, it existed upto 1816 when the last ruler of the senior branch, was deposed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh aud Jammu kingdom was annexed to the Sikh kingdom of Lahore.

SURAJ DEV—A.D. 840-912.

Suraj Dev was the first ruler of the new dynasty who assumed authority about A.D. 840. He ruled from Banehr or Babbapura, although

he might have recovered Jammu, as he is credited with wide conquests of hill territories extending upto the borders of Khata and Tibet. The seat of government remained probably at Babaur called Babbapura in the *Rajatarangini*,[1] and the principality may have been known as Durgara or Dugger, as events of mid-tenth century mention. This arrangement might have continued till the accession of Raja Mal Dev in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

Suraj Dev ascended the throne on the 3rd of Bhadron, V.S. 872 (corresponding to 15 August, 815). He seems to have been a brave king and wise administrator. He divided all his state affairs into seven departments, corresponding to seven days of the week. and entrusted each of these to separate *Vakils*, so that on appointed days each one of them conducted himself into the presence of the Raja and submitted his report and sought his guidance and instructions.[2] The seven *Vakils* or ministers bore separate titles each and performed different functions. *Raj Mehta* or *Mehta-deodhi*, was the minister of royal household, workshops and building[3] ; the *Vakil-i-Riyaya* or *Mehta Raj Mehtri*, was minister of public welfare ; *Mehta Dalpati* was the commander-in-chief of royal forces ; *Mehta Kachehri* or *Mehta-Tharha* was minister for civil and military accounts ; *Mehta Dharma Rai* was the acclesiastical minister, *Mehta Rang Ras* was minister for entertainment and reception, and *Mehta Karond Singh* looked after law and order in the state.[4]

For the management of all these affairs and conduct of expeditions concerning them, a standing force of 700 cavalry and 2100 infantry was employed for royal service. Out of these, a contingent of 300 foot and 100 horsemen each was always on duty every day at the Deodhi by turns, and formed the royal retinue as well as the guard of the royal court. Every footman was equipped with a shield and a sword and carried a short javelin. Horsemen possessed bows and arrows as well as shields and swords on their bodies. Raja Suraj Dev seems to have been an efficient ruler and probably he conducted administrative reforms and improved upon the existing system. The title of '*Mehta*' continued long after him. and the tradition relates the popular anecdate of 'Mehta' Bir Singh and the brahmin, Bawa Jitto, which occurred in the reign of Aje or Ajab Dev who most probably ruled after Raja Mal Dev, from about A.D. 1423. The term *Mehta-thara* was also in vogue in Chamba state. His administrative system seems to have continued after him and became the basis of the government of this hill state and its dependencies.

The local tradition attributes to him a pathetic end and narrates the story of the fidelity and bravery of his lovely spouse, Neela Rani. It is stated that a Muslim chief Sultan Mohammed invaded Ghazni and fought against the Hindu Shahiya ruler in about 850 A.D. Suraj Dev probably

1. Stein, M.A., *Rajatarangini*, Eng. Trans , Vol. II, p. 247.
2. *Rajdarshani*, folio 103 a ; Charak, *Gulabnama* p. 18
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Rajdarshani*, folios 108 b and 108 109 a.

went to Kabul in aid of the Hindu Shahiya ruler and was captured and kept imprisoned in a cage by a Muslim commander Sherif Khan. Later he was asked to choose beween Islam and death and the brave Dogra chief chose the latter. His queen reached there in disguise but her husband was buried alive in a masonary tower before her eyes before she could render any help to the hero. The same night she burnt herself alive aud became a *Sati*. The legand probably refers to one of the raids of the Arab general Umar bin Lais Saffar who fought many battles with Lalliya Shahi, the founder of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty of Kabul, and his successor Kamluka or Kamal Verman. It was probably in one of these battles that Suraj Dev was imprisoned and afterwards murdered. The Dogra rulers, as vassals or friends of the Hindu rulers of Kabul, used to participate on the side of their co-religionists in their struggle against Muslim invaders and their annals are full of heroic deeds on similar occasions.

THE TURK INVADERS AND THE 'DEV' RULERS

BHOJ DEV—912 to 982-83 A.D.

Suraj Dev was succeeded to the *gaddi* of Jammu Raj at Babbapura by his eldest son, Bhoj Dev who seems to have been the first eminent ruler of the 'Dev' dynasty. He was a great hill ruler, and some short *Vansavalis* of the Dogra kings start with his name.

The tradition makes him contemporary with Sabuktigin. The Vansavali[5] states that he was killed in Anand Pal's first battle with Sabuktigin which was fought in A.D. 982-83, which gives the date of his death. As he is said to have ruled for 70 years, his date of accession has to be fixed in A.D. 912.

The one notable event of his reign was the attack on Chamba by a confederate army in which the Dogra contingents under Bhoj Dev and Raja Som Pal of Sambarth[7] (or Saumattika), associated with the invaders, a people named '*Kira*' in a Chamba copper-plate title-deed of King Asata of Chamba, mentioning the events of the reign of Sahila-Varman (A.D. 930-40).[8] The Dogra ruler has been mentioned there as 'Durgareswara'—the 'Lord of the Dugger'. The expedition was a failure and the powerful Raja of Chamba routed the invaders in a pitched battle. The events, however, indicate the trend of political affiliations and ambitions of the people of the Dogra region some ten centuries ago.

It reveals the close association of Jammu and Basohli right from their earliest historical mention. The bearing of 'Kira' people is not

5. *Rajadarshani*, folio 109 b.
6. Elliot, H.M., *History of India as told by its own Historians*, reprint, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad 1969 Vol. 11, p. 424
7. Kahan Singh Balaurla, Thakur, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 59-60.
8. Prof. Keilhorn, *Ind. Antiq.*, I888., p. 9 For details see *History and culture of Himalayan States*, Vol. II, p. 38, and *Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom*, p. 4.

clear. Some authorities equate it with the Kashmiris, whereas some associate them with a part of the inhabitants of Kangra. There is a village near Baijnath (ancient Vaidyanath) called Kira-gram, and it is opined that the Kiras of the copperplate may have been the people of this region. However, the equation of 'Kira' invaders with Kashmiri is not improbable, as soon after this event, we find bigger Kashmiri forces invading Chamba. The *Rajatarangani* reveals that Kashmir had always asserted a suzerainty over Chamba, and on several occasions the Rajas of Chamba are mentioned as present in Kashmir Court. It is, therefore, certain that the 'Kiras' of the copper-plate refer to the Kashmiri forces. If so, the association of the Dogras with Kashmir in some form since the early middle ages is established. During the following centuries this association seems to have increased and we find the states of Jammu-Kangra hills, Punch and Kashmir coming frequently in clash with one another.

The Vansavali gives V S 987[9] as the date of this event which corresponds with 930 A.D. which exactly tallies with the date of Chamba annals.

Raja Bhoj Dev was also on friendly terms with the Shahis of Kabul, and in collaboration with them fought against the Muslim invaders. When Sabuktigin encroached on Jaipal Shahi's territory, the latter retaliated by invading the principality of the former and a battle was fought at Sakawand in A.D. 982. Bhoj Dev fought on the side of Jaipal.[10] The Indian army of Jaipal was defeated due to bad weather and heavy snowfall, and was annihilated. Bhoj Dev died in the battle-field in that year after reigning for 70 years.

He had four sons, Karan Dev from one wife, and Avtar Dev, Kharak Dev and Pahlad Dev from the other. He separated the dependancy of Banehr from Jammu and installed Karan Dev Raja thereof. This he did probably to avoid any possible dispute over succession among the half-brothers. The fourth descendant of Karan Dev was Manak Dev, after whose name the new principality came to be called Manak-kot or Mankot, and his descendants were known as Mankotias. Sixteen generations ruled at Mankot after Manak Dev Chattar till Dev.[11]

AVTAR DEV (982 to about 1020 A.D.)

Bhoj Dev was succeeded to the *gaddi* of Jammu by his second son Avtar Dev, who also professed allegiance to the Shahis and sent his brother, Pahlad Dev, to help King Jaipal against Mahmud.

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9. Kahan Singh Balauria, Thakur, Op. Cit., p. 59.
10. *Rajdarshani*, folio 110-b.
11. A Hindi *Vansavali* states that Karan Dev's full name wa Mani Karan Dev, hence he changed the name of Banehr to Manipur, which in turn gave the name Mankotia to the ruling clan. The line of succession of Mankotia Rajas is as under :—Manak Dev, Ude Dev Nagar Dev, Uttam Dev, Harichander Dev, Pratap Dev, Arjan Dev, Sheetal Dev, Thota Dev, Trati Dev, Ajmat Dev, Dalel Singh and Chattar Dev.—*Rajdarshani*, *Op.Cit.*, folio 110-a.

In this battle fought near Pashawar in 1001 A.D., Pahlad Dev was killed along with Gopal.[12] Avtar Dev also gave shelter to Jaipal in his defeat and permitted the fugitive prince to live at Basohli. Probably offended with these hostile activities of the Raja of Jammu Mahmud entrusted the Siwalik territory between the Chenab and Jehlum to a Ghakhar (i.e., Khokhar) chief and sent his son Masud to the Jammu Siwaliks to reduce Mangarh and other forts and to plunder and ravage Jammu territory and carry the Raja of that place a prisoner.[13] Avtar Dev sent his force under his son Nar Dev and his brother, Kharak Dev, and a number of his officers and vassal rajas,[14] against the invader, The Dogra army laid an ambush in the jungle, defeated and plundered Masud who found safety in a hurried retreat. It is narrated that Rais of Kangra, Mangarh, Mahva-Dhamhri, Chamba, Basohli, Kishtwar and Adi-dhak all participated on the side of the Raja of Jammu.[15] Most probably this resistance was organised by Anandpal, son and suceessor of Jaipal Shahi, who had taken refuge with the Raja of Jammu. However, the Ghaznavid invaders were more fortunate in subsequent raid when they succeeded in carrying away some three hundred camel-load of booty from Jammu hills.[16]

JAS DEV (1020 to 1053 A. D.). Avtar Dev ruled for 44 years and died in about 1020 A.D. and was succeeded by his eldest son Jas Dev. the founder of Jasrota town which later became the headquarters of one of the most powerful principalities in the hills. He gave the newly founded town to his brother, Karan Dev whose descendants ruled there for many generations and came to be called '*Jasrotias*'.

Jas Dev's reign is known for a strange event. The people of Jammu were once greatly harassed by the pests of scorpions and snakes. The king knew by divination or in a dream that *Bhairon* or *Bhair-devata* (the Dogri form for Varun, a river-god of Vedic age), who had his abode in the waters of the Tawi desires proptiation. The Raja, therefore, gathered all his people on the river bank and forbade catching of fish in tne Tawi, and worshipped *Bhair-devata* as the guardian-deity of the city. He also appointed a *brahmin* of the Lahri caste as the priest of that god and assigned a village in the name of that diety where the descendants of that priest still reside and the village came to be called Bhair after the name of that god. This act of the Raja and the people pleased the river-god who clained his lineage from Bask (Vasuki) Nag of legendry fame. This removed the malady of the people. The worship of Bhair-devata, and that of Kali Devi of Bahu fort as its manifestation, has been traced in Jammu from the days of Jas Dev.

12. *Rajdarshani*, Op. Cit., folio 112. a
13. *Ibid*, B M. folio 120-b : SPM. folio 113. a
14. *Ibid*, BM. folio 121 a ; SPM folio 114 a.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid*, folio 122 b.

SANGRAM DEV, ...(1053 to 1094 A.D.).

Jas Dev seems to have ruled from Babbapura, and died about 1053. He was succeeded to his *gaddi* by his eldest son, Sangram Dev, who is said to have been a just ruler. Many anecdotes of his love of justice were narrated among the people. Nothing much, however, has been recorded of his reign. It seems that after the extinction of the Shahis in about A.D. 1026, the Dogras like many other tribes, who were vassals of the Hindu rulers of Kabul, had become independent, resisted intrusion of the Ghaznavis in hills and flouted the authority of Kashmir. King Ananta of Kashmir (1028-1063 A.D.) had conquered the adjoining hill principalities and the rulers of Champa (Chamba) Darvabhisara, Trigarta and Vartula accepted Ananta's supremacy[17] but when he marched against Kalasa, the ruler of Vallapura (Balawar), the Dogras badly defeated him and he was saved by his minister Haladhara who showed great presense of mind.[18]

JASAKARA DEV ALIAS CHAK OR CHAKAR DEV.....A.D. 1094—1164.

There seems to be some confusion concerning the succession after Sangram Dev.[19] Ganesh Dass gives the name Chakar Dev, whereas Hutchison and Vogel[20] make Jasakar Dev succeed him and Chak Dev to follow the latter on the *gaddi*. Thakur Kahan Singh Balauria opines that Jasakar and Chak are the names of the same person. But this seems to be improbable. The long reign of 70 years assigned to one ruler was probably shared by the two. The genealogies,[24] however, omit Jasakar Dev, who was probably an unimportant ruler.

Chak or Chakar Dev had also to face Muhammadan invasions on his territory like his predecessors. From the beginning of the Muhammadan invasions, there must have been almost continuous warfare, in which several Dogra Rajas, accompanying the army of Anang Pal of Delhi fell in battles, and Durgara with other Hill States most probably participated in this long drawn struggle, Though the Mohammadans held Lahore and the plains of the Punjab, they were unable to penetrate into the mountains, where the Rajput chiefs still preserved their independence."[22]

A fresh menace which Chakar Dev had to face was the rising power of the Khokhars who had suddenly appeared on the political horizon of Jammu Hills. They had been subject to Jammu. But Malik Khusrau (1173—1201), the last of the Ghaznavis, who had been driven out of his

17. Bilhana, *Vikarmankadevacharita*, XVIII, 38.
18. *Rajatarangini*, I, VII—220,
19. *Rajdarshani*, fol, 134,
20. *H. P.H.S.* p. 528.
21. *File No*: *1352* (*Vernacular*), Persian Records, SAR (I)
22. *H.P.H.S.*, p. 528.

native land and had established himself at Lahore, incited the Khokhars of Mangla to rebel and won them to his side. Hard pressed by this hostile combination Chakar Dev is said to have sent his son, Ram Dev, to the rising Ghori chief, Shahabu-d-Din Muhammad, and invited him to invade Lahore, the capital of his Ghaznavid enemy. Muhammad Ghori beseiged Lahore in 1174 A.D. but failed to take it. He, however, repaired and strengthened the fort of Sialkot on Chakar Dev's advice and placed Hussain as *thanahdar* in it.[23] After his departure Khusrau Malik laid siege to the fortress of Sialkot assisted by the Khokhar tribes, but failed to take it as the Raja of Jammu promptly moved his contingents in aid of the besieged.[24] Later, however, Muhammad Ghori invaded Lahore and captured it in 1786 A.D. and put an end to the Ghaznavid rule in the Punjab. Chakar Dev probably shifted his loyalty to his new protege in an effort to counter the Khokhar menace which had become parennial for Jammu rulers and the very existence of Jammu was threatened at the hands of this new political power which was gathering strength at the cost of Jammu and Lahore rulers. Thakur Kahan Singh Balauria[25] says that Chakar Dev has been named Bajar Dhar in the *Rajatarangini*, who was subject to Rajas of Kashmir. He seems to have taken effective part in Kashmir affairs.

The throne of that country had been usurped by the Lohara Princes—Uchbala and Sussala in 1100 A.D. and Bhoja's infant son Bhikshachar, had been removed out of the valley. In 1112 A.D. he returned in order to make an attempt to recover his paternal throne, and on his way, while at Kurukshetra he fell in with several hill chiefs who had come there on pilgrimage. Among these there were three local chieftains and two heir-apparents of small principalities : Vajradhara (Chakar Dev) of Babbapura, Jasata of Champa (Chamba), Raja Sahajpala of Vartula, and *juvarajas*, Balha and Anandaraja of Trigarta and Vallapura (Balour) respectively. They entered into an alliance against Sussala[26] (A.D. 1101-1111), and agreed to restore Bikshachara to the throne of Kashmir. Assured of help from them Bhikshachara entered the hills, and in order to strengthen his position also married the daughter of the ruler of Vallapura[27] (Balaor, i.e. mod. Basohli). Soon after this Bhikshachara made an unsuccessful invasion of Kashmir, but what amount of help he had from Vajradhara of Durgara we do not know. He and Jasata of Chamba soon lost interest in the royal claimant, and changed sides when things looked unfavourable. Kalhana's notices make this quite clear that Vajradhara returned to his allegiance, like Jasata of Chamba and left Bhikshachara to his fate[28].

23. *Rajdarshani*—folio 135 b ; Ishwari Prasad, *A short History of Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad, 3rd. Ed., p. 59.
24. *Ibid.* See also *Tabakat-i-Nasseri*, Eng. Trans. by Raverty, pp. 453-55, which confirms these statements of *Rajdarshani*.
25. Kahan Singh Belauria, Thakur, *Op. Cit.*, p. 58.
26. *Rajatrongini*, VIII, vs. 537-541.
27. *Ibid.* vs. 547-48.
28. *H.P.H.S.* ? p. 527.

Some 25 years before this also the rulers of the Durgara circle have been mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* in connection with the events of Kashmir which took place during the reign of Chakar Dev's predecessor, Sangram Dev (A.D. 1054-90). The reference is to an assemblage of eight hill chiefs at the court of Raja Kalasa (A.D. 1063-89) of Kashmir, son of Ananta Deva. These chiefs.[29] were the following :—

1. Kirtiraja of Bhaddhapura (Babbapura, Jammu).
2. Asata of Champa (mod. Chamba),
3. Kalasa of Vallapura (Balaor),
4. Sangramapala of Rajapuri (Rajauri).
5. Utkarsha of Lohara,
6. Gambhirasimha of Kanda.
7. Uttmaraja of Kashthavata (mod. Kashtwar) and
8. Sangata of Urasa (mod. Hazara).

King Kalasa convened this meeting of neighbouring rulers and potentates at his capital in 1087-88 A.D. to discuss common problems, obviously the common danger of Muslim incursions to which all of them were exposed, and forge a united front. Probably they were all subject to Kashmir. Evidently Kashmir had not then relaxed its hold on the States of the outer hills. The prominent position given to Kirti in the list seems to indicate that he held a prominent place among the Hill Chiefs, and may have been a Kinsman or *Samanta*, representative of the Raja of Jammu. There is another reference to "Kirtiraja, lord of Nilapura, whose daughter, Bhuvanamati, was married to Kalasa.

Anyhow, the mention of Vajradhara (i.e., Chakar Dev) is the last reference to the Dogra State in the *Rajatarangini*. This Raja ruled upto about 1164. It is narrated that his first wife, named Rani Parmeshwari, was from the Rakwal family. For a long time the Raja did not have any issue, so he took another wife from the Charak family who became a great favourite with him. The neglected Parmeshwari lived separate but like a devoted wife worshipped, her husband. Once the Raja took her and the younger wife on pilgrimage to the Jagannatha Puri where she made an end to her life by throwing herself into the Ganga. The repentant Raja, on coming back to Jammu, raised a temple in her memory which has been named after her and stands to this day at the end of the Dhakki Parmeshwari on the bank of the Tawi. The Raja also declared her to be a family deity of the ruling house, to be propitiated on all auspicious occasions[30] and this custom has been observed by the ruling clan of Jammu till recently.

BAJ OR BIJAY DEV. A.D. 1164 to 1215.

Chakar Dev's son and successor Baj Dev or Bijay Dev was contemporary of Muhammad Ghori. When the latter invaded the Punjab in Hejira 583 (A.D. 1187), Bijay Dev sent his representative Puro and his son Narsing Dev, to wait upon the Ghori who had occupied Lahore

29. *Rajatarangini*, I, vii, 387-388—90, 583-86.

30. Anon., *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, MS. RDL (S), pp. 142-46.

and imprisoned and later murdered Khusrau Malik. The Ghori conqueror sent back the Dogra Chiefs with *Khilats* and bestowed the *Parganah* of Sialkot on the Dogra Raja.

Ganessh Dass records the local tradition that the title of '*Mian*' Or '*Mianji*' was bestowed on the Jamwal rulers by Muhammud Ghori though the tradition in other hills where the title 'Mian' is in use, avers that it was introduced in the hills by the Mughal rulers in about 1560 A.D. The term in its original form '*Mianji*' means 'a mediator' or representatives or a go between ; and may have been applied to the *Vakils* or representatives of Rajas, who were usually royal brothers or sons. It was soon adopted by the ruling clans as a title of honour and insignia of royality[31].

Like his father, Bijay Dev, too, allied himself to the interests of the Ghori in his battle of Tarain fought with Prithvi Raj Chauhan—'the Rai Pathora' of the Dogra traditions. At the battle field of Tarain the Raja of Jammu was found on the side of Muhammad Ghori along with Jai Chand. The Jammu contingent was commanded by Narsing Dev, son of the Raja. The *Rajdarshani* narrates that Prithvi Raj's brother, Khande Rao, was killed in the battle of Tarain at the hands of Narsing Dev[32].

Baj Dev ruled for 51 years and was succeeded by his son Narsing Dev in about 1220 A.D. who ruled for 30 years. He was followed on the *gaddi* by his son Arjan Dev, from 1250 to about 1310 A.D. His reign was marked by rebellion of the Bhalwals of Bhalwalta on the instigation of the Raja of Mankot. Arjan Dev got the Bhalwal chief murdered by a stratagem, but one of the Bhalwal chiefs, named Dulla, defied the Jammu authority and took to the ways of wayfarers and decoits. Soon he became a terror in the hills and the ferocious rebel came to be called '*Dulla Murdam Khor*'—'Dulla, the canibalist ! The Raja of Jammu finally curbed the rebellion and killed the outlaw chief[33].

JODH DEV, A.D. 1310 to 1361.

During these centuries the most notable Dogra ruler was Jodh Dev, the immediate successor of Arjan Dev. He became Raja probably after A.D. 1310. It was in his days that Zulfiqar Turk invaded Kashmir in 724H. (1324 A.D.) through the Barahmula pass occupied the country and put the inhabitants' of Srinagar to the sword. Seh Deva the ruler of Kashmir fled the country and took refuge in Kishtwar. After about six months when the invader had left the country, Jodh Dev helped him to return to the valley, but meanwhile 'Ratan. Ju' (Rinchen Bhot), the ruler of Tibet, had occupied the valley and had been accepted by the Kashmiris as their Raja. Sah

31. *Rajdarshani*, folio 136 a.
32. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., fol. 138 a.
33. *Ibid*, fol. 140 b.

Dev came back to Kishtwar and the Raja of Jammu made provision for his sustenance.[34]

Jodh Dev was contemporary of Feroz Shah of Delhi who became ruler there in H. 750 (1349 A.D.)

C. RAJA MAL DEV (1361—1400)

Jodh Dev was succeeded to the *gaddi* of the Dogra Raj by his son Mal Dev, the hero of several legends and ballads of the Dogra. The date of the accession of this Dogra ruler is quite uncertain. Ganesh Dass[35] has 1404 Bikrami (1347 A.D.) and Hejira 763 (A.D. 1361); whereas G. C. Smyth[36] has 1389 Bikrami (A.D. 1332) and Hajire 749 (A.D. 1348). His date of accession therefore, varies from 1332 to 1361 A.D. At the same time tradition makes him contemporary with Timur's invasion of India which took place in 1398—99 A.D. As he is said to have ruled for forty years, his accession to power may safely be placed in 1360—61 A.D. or a little after.

He most probably shifted the Dogra capital to Jammu which had been abandoned by the rulers during the period of the recurring invasions of Trucks since the days of Mahmud of Ghazni, though Jammu had remained their military outpost ever afterwards. Tradition amply proves this fact. It is a stated that he brought a big rock from the bed of the Tawi and placed it at a spot where it lies to this day in the *mohalla* 'Kali-Janni', gathered his Kinsmen and the subject people and annointed himself 'Raja' sitting on that rock which long afterwards served as sacred place for every new king to celebrate his '*Raj-tilak* (accession to gaddi). "Henceforward this Rajput colony was treated with greater respect by the country people around. while the Meghs and numerous other new-comers and temporary inhabitants, Hindus, who had fled from the Muslim Rule and migrated from the Panjab hither—all now looked up to the Rajput chief (Mal Dev) as their rightful lord, prince and protector."[38]

Thus Jammu once again became the capital of the Dogra kingdom. The building of Purani Mandi, now extinct except an old spot where stands the subsequently built mansion housing the Amar Kshatriya Rajput Sabha; are said to have been erected by Raja Mal Dev[39]. A corner of this mansion houses a small shrine marking the spot where Mal Dev first sat on his *gaddi* as the ruler of Jammu, and at this spot all the subsequent Dogra rulers upto the last one, Maharaja Hari

34. *Rajdarihani*, SPM. M.S. fol. 141 a.
35. *Rajdarshani*, SPS M.S. fol. 142 a.
36. Smyth, G.C., *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, etc., 1847, p. 234.
37. *Rajadarshani*, op, cit,, fol, 144b ; *Tarikh-i-Jammu* (Urdu), p. 33.
38. Smyth, G.C., *Op. Cit.*, p. 235.
39. *Rajdarshani*, SPS. MS. fol 142 ; H.P.H,S., p. 528 : *Tariah-i-Jammu*, p. 33.

Singh, received their *Raj-tilak* at the time of accession. The rock 'Kalijanni'. Once lay within the precincts of this palace which was also known as 'Maldev-ki-Mandi'.

An interesting anecdote is narrated about the erection of the *pucca* palaces on this spot by Maldev at later date. Once he became offended with Rana Kailasa (A.D. 1357-1397)[40], the Raja of Nurpur, who was the husband of his sister. The furious Dogra chief made a surprise attack on his relative and in the scuffle that ensued the Pathania Raja was killed, and the victor dismantled the Nurpur fort and palace and carried the bricks to Jammu out of which he built his brick palace at the Purani Mandi. This must have taken place in A.D. 1397 when Raja Kailsa, the conqueror of Tatar Khan, the Tughlaq governor of Lahore under Muhammad Tughlaq, is stated to have been killed.

This event led to impairment of Mal Dev's relations with the Tughlaq Sultans of Delhi. The wazir of Nurpur (then called Dhammari), went to Delhi and complained against Mal Dev's high handedness. Thereupon Mal Dev destroyed and plundered the palace and town of the Pathanias and made preparations for battle with imperial forces. In the battle Mal Dev routed the Delhi army sent against him. However, Mal Dev's half-brothers, Jankar Dev and Inder Dev, went over to the imperial forces and helped them in seizing Mal Hev's person by treachery. He was carried to Delhi a prisoner and his half-brothers were installed in power at Jammu by the imperial officers. He was, howeve, reconciled to the Tughlaq Sultan of Delhi by show of his super-human power in a bout and was released and restored to power. The Sultan acknowledged him ruler of Jammu[42]. The Dogra Raja however, continued to flout the authority of the Sultans of Delhi like most of the chiefs. Mal Dev was able, when occasion required, to assemble round him three or four hundred armed followers, and with such instruments at his command he did not lose the opportunity of "making himself known and dreaded all over the neighbouring lowlands" and by his heroic acts and nightly inroads, he showed that he little respected and even defied the great Moslem power of the age, the disturbances of the times gave him and some of his descendants opportunties to revage the lowlands on different occasions upto some forty or fifty coss"[43], some hundred kilometers.

Thus Mal Dev extended his kingdom on all sides. He conquered territories in the east up to the river Beas[44], and ravaged and plundered the plain region many miles south of Sialkot.

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40. Charak, S.S., *History and Culture of Himalayan States*, Vol. I, p. 269.
41. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, pp. 27-28 ; Ramju Dar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi Khandaa-i-Dogra* MS. RDL (S), fol-160-170.
42. *Ibid*, pp-31-32.
43. Smyth, G.C., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 236-37.
44. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 32.

The Dogras may have been forced to pay tribute to the Sultana now aud then, but mostly they asserted their independence and Amir Timur was informed in 1399 A.D. that the inhabitants of Jammu region "were not submissive and obedient to Sultans of Hindustan."[45]

Mal Dev had made his kingdom independent and had sought to extend it towards the west, beyond the river Chenab also. His political ambition and the chaos caused by Turk and tribal invasions dragged Jammu into a long drawn struggle with hostile forces entrenched all around. The period of about a century from Mal Dev's accession in 1361, was the most eventful for the people and rulers of Jammu. They had a busy time with invaders and in conflicts with their warlike neighbours, the Khokhars, and with rulers of Delhi and their governors at Lahore. The Mongol inroads on the north-western regions of India had started distressing people. The Turks had entrenched themselves in power in Afghanistan and north-western Punjab. Forcible conversion of Hindus to Islam in Kashmir and in the Punjab had become a routine of Muslim rule in India, which was then represented at Delhi by the imbecile rule of the later Tughlaks, followed by the Sayyid Sultans, and the Lodhis in quick succession. The plains of Punjab and the low hills of Jammu-Kangra region had become a cock-pit of continuous struggle between the invaders, free-booter plundering tribes of Khokhars, Chibhs and Awans, the empire builders of Delhi and their representatives at Dibalpur and Labore ; and last of all, tribal raiders and foreigners seeking and carrying men and women to slavery, rapine and loot. These Muslim bands in various garbs had made this region a veritable hell for the so called 'infidels' whom they mercilessly and frequently slaughtered in the name of Islam and sent them to hell.

The most numerous and troublous subjects of the Dogras were the Khokhars who were scattered along the foot-hills from the Jahlum to the Ravi with their larger concentrations in the plain around Gujarat, Pind Dadan Khan, Rawalpindi and the Salt Range, and in the tract of Hoshiarpur District called Khokharain. They trace their origin from the days of Achamaenians, and Ferishta informs us that Kaid Raj, a general of Darius Hystaspes, built the fort of Jammu and placed it under the commander, Virk Khokhar, and that since then to his day, Jammu was in possession of the Khokhars.[46] Their connection with Jammu has been referred to above. They arrayed a force 30,000 strong in aid of Anandpal Shahi against Mahmud of Ghazani. They had built their power in the hills north of Mangla fort along the left bank of the Jhelum. They revolted under their leaders Bakan and Sarki in the reign of Qutubuddin Aibek, and again created troubles for Muhammad Ghuri who was finally assassinated by a Khokhar in 1206 A. D. *The History of the Rajas of Jammu* confirms such activities of Khokhars. It narrates that "The tribe of Khokhar, who dwelt round about Mangla fort at the foot of the hills and were subject to the Jammu

45. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, HIED, Vol. iii, 468.

46. *HIED*, Vol. II. p. 447

dynasty, having received encouragement from the Lahore ruler (Malik Khusru), and sure of his support, refused any longer to pay tax and tribute to Jammu and threw off its yoke."[47] In return the Khokhars assisted Malik Khusrau in his attempt to wrest Sialkot from the Ghuri Officers "Who were befriended by the Jammu forces ;[48] and because of the timely help of the Raja of Jammu in favour of the besieged Malik Khusrau 'retired without being able to effect his object !

The Khokhars were thus gathering strength by aligning themselves with the enemies of Jammu whose authority they oftenly flouted. Their activities spread over the region of Jud hills (The Salt Range) and the present Chibhal or Bhimber and Mangla. Their leader was called 'Khokhar Rai'. who rebelled against the Raja of Jammu and this gave rise to long-drawn struggle between the Dogras and Khokhars which turned grim at the close of the fourteenth century. The one cause of this enmity was that the Khokhar Rai, called Khokhar Sanka in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, had embraced Islam.[49] In the reign of Muhammad Tuglak they became restive and rebelled against the authority of Delhi in 1342-43 A. D. under their leader Chandar.

What relationship the Khokhars had with Jammu during these turbulous days, is not clear. But it is certain that they held sway west of the Chenab, with their strong holds at Bhimbar, Thakhar lying to the north of Mangla fort. They were also thinly scattered upto Akhnur and in the district of Jammu where they had a small fort near Jammu.[50] One of the eminent chiefs of Khokhars of Jammu region was Sarpal. Sixth from him in descent was Chuchak or Anchu, and Malik Shaikha, the contemporary of Raja Mal Dev, was the seventh.[51] Shaikha is said to have founded a fort called Shaikha after him, and also a village named Dhankar (probably Tekhar) in the hills of Bhawan, north of Mangla, holding the hill-country and the tracts west of Gujarat.[52] He still seems to have been a local chief, subject probably to Raja Mal Dev whom Sultan Mahmud Tughlak had acknowledged Raja of Jammu and the adjoining country. But Shaikha[53] soon became so powerful that he was appointed governor of Lahore by the Sultan of Delhi and his brother, Nusrat, opposed Timur's army on behalf of the Tughlaks, with only 2 000 men on the Beas. The power of the Khokhars of Jammu region had thus out grown that of Jammu, and for the next 60 years a struggle raged between the Khokhars and the rulers of Delhi

47. *A Glossory of the Ttibes and Castes of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Provine, 1883, p. 544.*

48. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhajuddin, Eng. trans, by Major H. G. Ravert, Rep, I970, Vol. I p. 455.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *HIED*, Vol. II, p. 46J.

51. *A Glassary of Tribes of the Panjab*, etc., p. 544,

52. *Ibid* See also *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 142 b.

53. According to Raverty (*Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 367 n) Shaikha was the general name by which the chiefs of the tribe styled themselves, hence Jasrath is often styled Jasrath Shaikha.

in which Rajas of Jammu were always found in the camp of the Sultans of Delhi.

The first rebellion of Shaikha occurred in 1393, in the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad Tughlak. But the Sultan died before any force could be moved against the rebel. When Mahmud Tughlak became Sultan he appointed Sarang Khan to the fief of Dibalpur and directed him against the rebel Khokhar. In September, 1394 Sarang moved his forces against Lahore which was held by Shaikha Khokhar. The rebel was defeated and took shelter in Jammu territory.[54] Sarang Khan appointed his own brother, Malik Kandhu, governor of Lahore.

Soon after, Delhi was convulsed by a fairly confused civil war, in which all the powerful nobles, including Mallu, Tatar Khan, Sarang Khan, Muqarrab Khan and Nusrat Khan were involved. Mallu, getting cooperation of the Tughlaq Sultan, Mahmud, had done away with most of his rivals and was pursuing his only remaining enemy, Tatar Khan when in October, 1381, Amir Timur had taken Multan and Talamba.[55] During this chaos at Delhi, the Khokhars had again gained strength and had reoccupied Lahore.[56] His brother, Nusrat, was probably raised to the *Faujdari* of Hoshiarpur and he had his head-quarters at Khokarain on the Bias, where he guarded the frontier. When Timur "halted at Jal on the bank of the river Bias, opposite to Shahpur," in October, 1398, he came to know of Nusrat's preparation for resistance with his 'two thousand blood thirsty soldiers in a fortress;[57] he attacked Nusrat, and completely routed him, taking immense booty in cattle and burning Nusrat's residence. Thereupon, his brother, Shaikha, submitted to Timur, and had accompanied him on his march towards Delhi. Shaikha, however, obtained Timur's leave to return to Lahore, where he soon incurred the suspicion of being luke warm to Timur's cause and Timur got him arrested. After his arrest by Timur, Shaikha disappears from history. Some authorities say that Shaikha died a natural death, while others allege that he was put to death.[58] Jasrath his son, being imprisoned in Samarqand, purchased his release after Timur's death in 1405 A. D., came to the Punjab, gathered strength and reappeared on the scene in 1420 A. D.

TIMUR'S INVASION OF JAMMU

Amir Timur oceupied Delhi in December, 1398. After plundering the capital of the Sultans for about 3 weeks, he left it on hearing of the Hindus, who inhabited the outer hills (Siwaliks) determined to carry a

54. *Rajadarshani*, SPM, MS., fol. 142 b.
55. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol, III, p. 195.
56. *Ibid*, p. 176.
57. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, in *HIED.*, Vol. III, p. 415
58. *The Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, *HIED*, III, 455-56, states that Shaikha treacherously fell on Timur at Kutila with five hundered men and was wounded and captured When he was brought before Timur, "the awe of my presence added to his wounds and *he surrendered his soul to the Lord of Hell.*"

holy war against them on his way back to the Indus. After storming Meeruth and Haridwar in January, 1399 he entered the Siwalik, defeating, slaughtering and plundering on all sides. Between the Satluj and the Beas he had severe conflicts in the outer valleys with the forces of the Raja of Nagarkot (Kangra). Between January 24 and Febrnary 23, when he reached the neighbourhood of Jammu he had fought twenty battles and gained as many victories, and conquered several forts which Timur numbers at eight.

It is not clear which route he traversed from Kangra to Jammu. But most probably he entered Jammu territory at Shahpur Kandi on the Ravi, and marched along the caravan route from Basohli to Mansar. On the way probably he had a detour northwards to Thalora and Babor, where Timur locates one of the eight forts stormed by him, which belonged to a chief named Shaikha, a relation of Malik Shaikha Khokhar. The people there were disarmed by a stratagem, and some forty Hindus were ordered to serve Timur's treasurer which order the people resisted out of "disobedient rebellions spirit", Timur ordered a general assault on the fort which was stormed and its inhabitants annihilated. "Two thousand then perished and were sent to hell· The women and children were made prisoners, and buildings were levelled with the ground."[59] The ruins of Thalora-Babor region are mute spectators of Timur's vendalism.

Here Timur was informed that the castle of Jammu was near, that it was connected with the Siwalik and Kuka (probably Trikuta) mountains and that inhabitants were not submissive and obedients to the Sultans of Hindustan.[60] He decided to carry his arms against the infidels of Jammu, and on 23rd, February, 1399 he marched from Mansar six Kos (about 9 miles) and encamped at the village of Baila in the territory of Jammu. Probably Timur passed through Purmandal and Uttarbehni and the locality of Baila (possibly a forest of rushes along foot-hill stream) was a few miles south of it on the bank of the Devika. There could not be any considerable village in those desolations. Timur sent a force against the village the inhabitants of which "Confident in their numbers, in the density of the Jungle, and in the altitude of the position, had placed themselves in ambush in many places along the borders of the jungle prepared to give battle and offer resistance.[61]" Timur's officers could not dare to attack them. Consequently, Timur himself arrived there next day. He too thought it prudent not to provoke the defenders who had completely deserted the village and removed their valuables to higher forests. The troops were ordered to enter the deserted village and plundered the remnants of "grain, sugar and oil." After that they set fire to the houses and destroyed the buildings.

The same day, 24th, Feburuary, he advanced about six miles and then encamped, probably in the vicinity of the modern Bari-Brahmanan

59. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*; HEID, Voi. III, pp. 467-68.
60. *Ibid*, pp. 468-69.
61. *Ibid* p. 469.

or Kalu Chak on the bank of the Balol torret as Timur descended along it from the rugged hills to the fertile plain through which he marched on to Jammu. It was at this place that the envoy of Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir reached Timur's camp on 24th Feburuary, and Timur wanted the Sultan to be informed that he should wait upon him on the banks of the Indus without bringing any presents.[62] Sikandar set out from Srinagar but on reaching Baramula learnt that Timur had hurriedly left the Indian frontier for Samarqand and returned to his capital.[63]

On 26th Timur again marched, and came up opposite to the city of Jammu, and there camped. The five or six Kos (about 9 miles) which he tranversed on that day was entirely through a cultivated country. He did not see anywhere dry or waste land. He probably encamped in the Satwari plain where "there was grain and grass enough between the tents to feed the animals."[64]

Sharafud-Din Yazdi's account of Timur's march to Jammu gives a little more details. He says that "The men of Baila were very brave, and they had some strong jungles. They placed palicades aloug the edges, and then stood ready fight and slay." Timur evaded fighting them and only plundered the already deserted village and set fire to it. The invaders then marched four Kos (6 miles) and encamped near a village. Here the envoys from Kashmir presented themselves before Timur. This village at the foot of a mountain, had many people. There was a fight, Hindus were put to sword and the village plundered and set on fire. On the same day, in the afternoon they attacked two other villages which were near, for provisions.[65] The hill people, though quite small in numbers seem to have lurked about Timur's baggage and plundered it here and there leading to skirmishes and smart fights in which one of Timur's officers was badly wounded with an arrow.

The record of Timur's proceedings agatnst Jammu is not proud one. He evaded a direct fight with the people of Jammu "The *rai*, with a force of bold and fearless men, had taken his stand in a strong position on the mountain, where they discharged their arrows and kept on shouting like dogs baying the moon."[66] Timur was not in a mood to fight a pitched battle as his soldiers were burdened with spoils of Hindustan, and in addition, he was in hurry to clear away from India to reach Iran hastily as he had received the distressing news of a rebellion in the eastern parts of his empire.[67] He, therefore, adopted a cunning stratagy.

On 27th, February, he sent army over the river to the foot of the mountain, on the left of the town, and to the village of Manu on the

62. *Ibid*, p. 470 ; *Camb. Hist. of India*, vol. III, p. 279.
63. *Camb. Hist. of India*, vol, III, p. 279.
64. *Malfuzat-i-Tamuri, HIED*, Vol. III, p. 471.
65. *Zafar-Nama, HIED*, Vol. III, p. 517.
66. *Ibid*, p. 519.
67. *Ibid*, p. 520.

right. The people of Jammu sent off their wives and children from their villages to the tops of the mountains, and they fortified themselves in their villages. The Raja with his warlike Rajputs took his post in the valley. Timur ordered his soldiers not to go towards them, but to attack and plunder the town of Jammu and the village of Manu. Accordingly his forces fell to plundering, and secured an enormous booty in grain, goods of all kinds, and cattle. The invaders then returned to their eamp for the night. Next day Timur sounded his march towards the Chenab, leaving behind a force in ambush in the Babu forest. When the Raja and his people came down they were treacherously seized and carried in the presence of Timur, and in the words of Timur ; "When my eyes fell upon the Raja of Jammu, who was wounded and a prisoner, fear took possession of his heart and he agreed to pay certain sums of money and to become a Musulman if I would spare his life. I instantly ordered him to be taught the creed, and he repeated it and became a Muhammadan. Among these infidels there is no greater crime and abomination than eating the flesh of cow or killing a cow, but he ate the flesh in the company of Musulmans. When he had thus been received into the fold of the faithful, I ordered my surgeons to attend to his wounds, and I honoured him with a robe and royal favours."

The fact of Mal Dev's conversion to Islam under, compulsion cannot be ruled out. During these centuries and after, such conversions of rulers at the polnt of sword, were usual. But Mal Dev seems to have abjured as soon as the invader had crossed the Indus. During these centuries of their struggle with the Muslims, Hindu rulers had learnt to play such game of conversion under compulsion as a matter of policy and come back to their religion by performing '*ptayshchita*' laid down for such cases. The proof of this is furnished by the fact that the ruling dynasty and the clan was treated quite a pure Hindu even after this incident the occurrence of which seems quite doubtful.

Timur's own account of the invasion of Jammu is quite confused. Timur sent his army to the foot of hill on the left of the Tawi, on which side his army also was encamped. This no doubt refers to the fort of Bahu and the village situated in its neighbourhood. The village of Manu on the rig t bank, i,e., Jammu side, is not identifiable. Possibly it was some small habitation below, and to the west of the Gumut ascent, a little away from the hill top occupied by Jammu town at that time. As Timur himself says the Raja and his *gabres* had taken their post in the river valley, probably in a horse-shoe shape from the present Pir-Kho to the Tawi bridge, Timur's forces could not plunder Jammu town without coming into conflict with the defenders who were presenting to the invader a formidable face. This Timur avoided. The village they plundered could be Bahu and not Jammu. Voghel is also of the same view.[69] The dense jungle, along the low-lying valley of the Tawi on both banks, to which Timur refers, existed upto about 1950, and it is easy to understand how a successful ambush could be laid for the Jammu forces as related.

68. *Ibid*, pp. 471-72.

69. *HPHS*, Vol. II,p. 529.

After leaving his forces in ambush he moved from Jammu along the left bank of the Tawi for a long distance before he crossed over to the right bank at a spot from which he traversed about 6 miles and encamped on the bank of the river Chenab. On 24th he crossed that river into Bajwat, marched westward into the Chibhan or Bimbar and crossed the river Jhelum probably a little way above the present town of the same name. There he left his army and travelled by forced marches to Indus on his way back to Samarqand. We are not told the name of the 'Raja of Jammu' who was then captured. But the tradition recorded by Ganesh Dass and G.C. Smyth affirms that it was Mal Dev, who was contemporary of Timur and who died in about 1400 A.D. The Dogra folk ballands give a different version of Mal Dev's role in the affair. In one of the legends it is narrated that Mal Dev organised a confedercy of Rajas against Timur and fought the invaders in defending Kangra, and died there a heroic death. Another balled lauds Mal Dev's terrible battle with the invaders in which Timur was badly repulsed. It is probable that the "Raja of Jammu" which Timur's men captured in ambush cade, was not the Raja, but only a vassal of the King of Jammu, who, along with 'fifty rais and Rajputs' might have come down the valley of the Tawi on way to the plain country lying across it, and fell iuto ambuscade. It was some *zamindar* or *rai* who was forcibly converted to Islam, and not the King of Jammu. That is why the great Rakwal, Chandel and Chauhan Rajput dynasties did not besitate to marry their daughters to Mal Dev's successor. In case of Mal Dev's conversion to Islam this could not have been possible in Rajputs, who were over-zealous for the preservation of the purity of their blood.

Ganesh Dass records another tradition. He siates that Timur invited Mal Dev to submission and conversion to Islam, to which the proud Raja replied by recourse to fight. Mal Dev made a sudden sally, surprised and routed the invading force and took shelter in lofty fastnesses. Timur's forces reacted by advancing upto the foot of the hill of Jammu,[70] but retreated after plundering the neighbouring villages. Timur's battles in the hills seem to have been against the crowds of people, who were wont to hover around the retreating invaders with the intention of relieving them of some of the booty.

Moreover, the eight forts stormed by him did not include any worth the name, like those of Kangra, Taragarh, Man, Pathan Kot, Dhamari, Jasrota. These forts could only be taken after pitched battle and seige lasting for months together and not by a retreating invader scurrying the safe route through the hills for the safety of his loot. Anyhow, Timur's retreat through Jammu hills, has left memories of many a heroic scuffles by the Dogra martial clans with one of the greatest scourges of central Asia.

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70. *Rajdarshani*, SPM. MS., Folios 143b-144a.

CHAPTER FIVE

Jammu Raj In Imperial And Hill Politics, 1400—1733, A.D.

(A)
HAMIR DEV (1400—1423)

The reign of "*Suraj Bansi Rajah Maharajah*, Mal Deva"[1] was a glorious chapter of the history of Jammu which make him the hero of many a folk tales and ballads describing him as a brave warrior who fought three or four battles against Timur. He left behind strong and well established principality to his son and successor, Hamir Dev. He is said to have been given the title of Rai Bhim by his protege from Delhi, the Sayyid ruler, Sultan Mubarak Shah, with whom he had formed a sort of confederacy against the rising power of the Khokhars. Hamir Dev had also inherited a number of difficulties, including strong rivals in the north and west, in Kashmir and the Chibhal respectively. In order to resolve these he boldly formed political alliances with the powers which could be helpful in exterminating his rivals and actively participated in the politics of the north-western India during the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

Anarchy and Chaos prevailed in Delhi and the Punjab in the wake of Timur's invasion. The reign of Sultan Mahmud Tughleq was marked by risings of nobles and pretenders to the throne of Delhi. In this chaos Khizr Khan, the governor of Multan, and Timur's deputy in Hindustan, made a bid to capture power and on May 23, 1414 he easily acquired Delhi and laid the foundation of the Sayyid dynasty. Raja Hamir Dev formed a confederacy with Khizr Khan (1414—1421 A.D.) and his successor, Mubarak Shah (1421—1434), and fought constant battles against their common enemy, the Khokhars.

In the politics of Kashmir also Hamir Dev had gained an influential position by supporting the cause of Sultan Ali Shah (1413—1419 A D.). The Khokhars who were once the subjects of the Rajas of Jammu had grown very powerful. But their power seems to have been crushed by Timur after which they seem to have probably come back to the yoke of Jammu for some time. But after his return from Samarqand, Jasrath Khokhar had once again started organising the Khokhar tribe of Chibhal in his bid to occupy the territories of the northern Punjab A triangular

1. Smyth, G.C., *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, reprint, Patiala, 1970 p. 236.

struggle thus ensued, in which Delhi, Jammu and the Khokhars were the parties which occasionally interfered in the politics of Kashmir to their benefit. Hamir Dev's politicBl manoeuvres were singularly successful and he made Jammu the orbit of power politics of Delhi, Kashmir and of the northern Punjab. He befriended the rulers of Kashmir also, who, like their Dogra counterpart of Jammu, were much harassed by the Khokhars who had encroached much of their territory in the Rajauri-Punch region, once a part of Kashmiri empire to the south of Rattan-Pir Range. The common enemy had thus brought Jammu and Kashmir in a close political alliance which became possible after the anti-Hindu, ferocious bigot Sultan Sikandar, '*the Butshikan*' (Iconoclast), had died in June 1413[2]. He left behind three sons, but had, before his death, installed his second son, Mir Khan, by his Muslim queen, setting aside the right of his eldest son, Firuz. This led to a civil war in the valley in which Jammu supported Mir Khan who had ascended throne under the name Ali Shah. Prince Firuz had been exiled, but he came back, joined hands with rebels and invaded Kashmir, but was defeated[3]. The challange, however, was now taken up by his younger brother, Shahi Khan, who successfully rebelled, killed Prime Minister Hamsa Bhatta in a battle and gained popularity. In order to appease his powerful rival, Ali Shah made Shahi Khan his Prime Minister, but their relations could not improve, and Ali Shah, finding his position constantly being under-mined, deputed Shahi Khan his regent, and left the Valley, obviously on his pronounced intention of *Hajj*, but in order secretly to assess the extent of help he could get from his Dogra ally of Jammu and the latter's friends. The factual picture of political trends "reveals that affairs had gone against him" to the extent that he feared dethronment by Shahi Khan who had called in troops from the Panjab and was disposed to fight with Ali Shah.[4] According to Ganesh Dass, this event occurred after 6 years' rule of Ali Shah, i.e., in 1419 A.D. When he left for Ka'ba via Jammu.[5] Hamir Dev offered his protege, Ali Shah adequate military aid to oust Shahi Khan, because the latter had somehow contracted friendship with Hamir Dev's arch-enemies, the Khokhars of Bhimbar and Mangla region, who were equally hostile to the Chibhali vassals of Jammu, the rulers of Akhnur and Rajouri. When autumn set in the combined forces of Jammu and Rajouri accompanied him and entered the Valley via Tosha Maidan Pass. Shahi Khan was probably taken unprepared and could find no time to get aid from his allies, so the Raja

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2. Jonaraja has the Laukika era 89, i.e., four thousand four hundred eighty-nine (stanza 622, *Raja-tarangini* of Jonaraja, ed, Sri Kanth Kaul, Hoshiarpur 1967) ; *Baharistan-I-Shahi*, *MS.* fol. 37a). However, Ferishla has the year 819 A.H., corresponding to 1406 A.D. (Briggs' Eng. tr., p. 391). Wholseley Haig also adopts Ferishta's date : Cf. *Camb. Hist. of India*, vol. III p, 280. For full discussion on the subject refer to Dr. R.K. Parmu's *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, 1320—1819, New Delhi, 1969, pp- 126—127.

3. Srikanth Kaul (ed.), *Rajatarangini of Jonaraja, Hoshiarpur*, 1967. Stanzas 645—48.

4. *Rajatarangini* of Jonaraja, ed. Sri Kanth Kaul, op. cit., Stanzas 690—695 ; *Tarikh-i-Sayyid 'Ali'* MS. NO : 739, RDL(S) fol. 15 b.

5. *Rajadarshani*, SPM, fol. 145 a.

of Jammu compelled Zain-ul-'abidin and his supporting Thakkuras to seek flight in safety.[6]

Ali Shah was installed on the throne and influence of Jammu was once again re-established in the Valley of Kashmir.

The struggle did not, however, end here. After his escape, Shahi Khan took shelter with Jasrath Khokhar at Sialkot and sought his help[7]. On the other side Ali Shah did not rule wisely after regaining the throne of Kashmir. His Muslim retainers and the troops from Madra, i.e., Rajouri, harassed the country.[8] Consequently, discontent in the country mounted. The shrewd Khokhar chief, Jasrath, sought to benefit by this situation. He offered help to Shahi Khan in conquering Kashmir, there by seeking to establish his hold on the valley and to weaken the influence and power of his rival, Raja Hamir Dev.

(B) THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN KHOKHARS AND RULERS OF JAMMU.

Soon after his return from Samarqand to his homeland Jasrath Khokhar had seized Jullundur and Kalanaur and regained his power and influence in the northern Panjab.[9] Jasrath aspired also to re-conquer Lahore and had designs even on Delhi. He desired to use the resources of Kashmir for that purpose, either by placing his candidate on throne or even by usurping Kashmir for himself, as aluded to by 'Srivara'[10] and also wanted to cut at the Dogra influence at the court of Kashmir. He therefore espoused Shahi Khan's cause against his enemies with sincerity and vigour. In June 1420, Shahi Khan accompanied by Jasrath and his army made up his mind to meet the Kashmiri army in a battle at a strategic place, They marched via Bhimber-Rajouri route and reached Thana, a village some 20 kilometers from Rajouri, where they occupied a safe position in order to contact the Kashmiri army which was reported to be advancing on them. Ali Shah seems to have been beguiled by Shahi Khan's artful men who had got access to his camp, and led him to believe that he would succeed if he led an expedition against the Khokhar chief. In spite of the military weakness of his move, "Ali Shah ventured upon the expedition which was destined to fail.[11] The Raja of Jammu knew the artful moves of the Khokhars on the battle field. He had therefore advised Ali Shah to remain inside the valley where he was safe and invulnerable. But being indiscreet, and allured by false promises of enemy agents he marched out of the Valley and committed the folly of opening offensive with tired army on the enemy which was strongly

6. *Rajatarangini* of Jonaraja, op. cit., Stanza 716.
7. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., fol. 1458 b.
8. *Rajatarangini of Jonaraja, op. cit.*, stanzas 717-723.
9. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Erg. trans. by Raverty, 368 n ; JRAS, 1918, p. 455-56.
10. *Jaina-Rajatarangini* of Srivara, ed. by Srikanth Kaul, Hoshjarpur 1966 IV, 143, Srivara says that Muhammad Margesa saved the Kingdom from being usurped by Jasrath after the fall of Ali Shah
11. Srikanth Kaul (ed.)' *Rajatarangsni of Jonaraja*, p. 104.

entrenched in a safe and strategic place at Thanna. Moreover, the Khokhars had won over the Raja of Rajouri to the side of Shahi Khan. The ruthless Khokhars fell upon the Kashmiri army and cut it down. Ali Shah was captured and probably killed by Jasrath's men.[12] Shahi Khan then entered Kashmir and became its ruler under the title Zain-ul-' Abidin !

Hamir Dev did not probably help his ally by sending troops. The nature of his participation on the side of Ali Shah is not known. However, Ali Shah's downfall and death gave a severe blow to the Dogra influence in Kashmir court and politics, which shrewd Hamir retrieved only after much difficulty, and probably with the help of prestige he earned by establishing very cordial relalions with Sultan Mubarak Shah of Delhl, who accended the throne in 1421 A.D. The main object of this Jammu-Delhi axis was the over-throw of the Khokhars who had become a great menace for both the powers, particularly when Jasrath and Zain-ul-'Abidin had become allies.

Hamir's other object was to re-establish his hold on the valley and the exclusion of the Khokhar influence therefrom.

Jasarth had enriched his resources by plundering the camp of Ali Shah and by receipt of men and material from Kashmir in return for his aid. On the death of Khizr Khan in 1421 he came out of the hills, ravaged the plains, and in the words of the author or *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* ".....elated with the strength of his forces, he began to have visions about Delhi " He crossed the Bias and the Satluj and fell upon Talwandi Rai and drove the Sayyed chief before him, plundered the country from the town of Ludhiana to the neighbourhood of Rupar on the Satluj,[13] and laid seige to the fort of Sarhind but failed to take it. The new Sayyid Sultan Mubarak Shah, marched towards Samana, and the Khokhar raised the siege of Sarhind and fled northword along the foot of the hills, pursued by the Sultan, In hurried retreat he fled from the Satluj to the Bias and thence to the Ravi, leaving his baggage behind. The Sultan also reached the Ravi at the town of Bhowa near Pathankot, at which Jasrath crossed the Ravi south of Kathua and made for the Chenab and proceeded to Tekhar,[14] in the hills of Chibhal. The Raja of Jammu, called 'Rai Bhim' in the *Tarikh i-Mubarak Shahi*,[15] the sworn enemy of thc Khokhars, met the Sultan at some place south of Jammu, and undertook to act as guide. "He crossed the Janhava (Chenab), and conducted the royal army to Tekhar, which was his

12. Srivara, *Jaina-Rajataraugini*, Calcutta, 1835, p. 130.

13. *HIED*, vol. IV pp. 56-57.

14. "Tekhar" in *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. but called "Telhar" at another place "Thankar" in the *Tabakat--i-Akbari*. Gunesh Dass also gives the same name ; Badauni has "Talhar" Ganesh Dass writes "Thakar" or "Tehkar" and locates it in the Mount Bhawnn, north of Manglan, along the Jehlam.

15. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, HIED, the Vol. IV, pp. 56-59 Jehlam.

(Jasrath Khokhar's[16]) strongest place. They destroyed the place, and made many of those who had there sought refuge prisoners. The royal army then retired victorious towards Lahore.[17]

Jasrath had escaped farther north to the Dhak hills. Sultan Mubark Shah is said to have conferred the title of "Rai Bhim" on Hamir Dev and in lieu of his assistance against Khokhars, recognised him overlord over twenty-two *raja* (principalities) of Kohistan.[18]

From the hills Mubarak Shah went to Lahore, raised a mud fort there, placed a garrison in it and retired to Delhi. In May, 1422, Jasrath had reassembled his army, descended from hills and invested the new fort of Lahore, but was repulsed. However, he continued to harass Mahmud for about a month by desultory Skirmishes, and at last retired to Kalanaur, Rai Bhim had already reached Kalanaur on his way to Lahore to render assistance to Mahmud. "He had already excited the enmity of Jasrath, and when the latter approached, constant fighting went on, but neither party could prevail. So the strife continued ; but subsequently, in the month of Ramzan, they made peace. Jasrath then went towards the Ravi, and there he gathered together all the people of the territory of the Khokhars who were in alliance with him ; but on approach of a royal army he fled towards the hills and took shelter in his stronghold of Tekhar. The royal forces advanced in pursuit. On reaching the confines of Jammu, they were joined by Rai Bhim and the combined forces defeated [19] the remnants of Khokhars on the banks of the Chenab and scattered them. and plundered the Khokhar country. Jasrath had already escaped into the higher mountains.[20]

The Sultan of Delhi entrusted the suppression of the Khokhars to the governor of Lahore and the Raja of Jammu. Hamir had time and again fought against Jasrath Khokhar and routed him on every occasion. But the power of the Khokhars was not broken. At last in April, 1423, Jasrath once again came out of his hills with a large following and directly made for Jammu this time to settle his accounts with Hamir Dev. "There was a fighting between Jasrath and Rai Bhim. The *rai* was killed, and the greater portion of his horses and arms fell into the hands of Jasrath. On ascertaining the death of Rai Bhim, Jasrath united a small army of Mongols with his own, and attacked the territories of Dibalpur and Lahore and overran and plundered these. Sikandar Tuhfa, however, repulsed him and compelled him to take shelter in his hill fastnesses. Jasrath Khokhar sustained defeat after defeat, but his spirits remained high and he continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the Sayyid Sultans for many years. As Jonaraja[22] narrates

16. *Tabakat-i-Ak*bari.
17. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, HIED, Vol. IV. p. 56.
18. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., fol. 146 a.
19. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, HIED, Vol. *b*V pp. 57-58.
20 Haig, Camb. *Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 211-12.
21. *Tarikh-I-Mubarak Shahi* HIED, Vol. IV. p. 59.
22. *Rajatarangini of Jonaraja*, ed. Srikanth Kaul, Stanza 785.

whenever he was defeated and chased by the troops of Mubarak Shah, the Sayyid ruler of Delhi. Zain-ul-abidin gave him protection. In 1431-32 Jasrath made an alliance with the governor of Kabul, Mir Shaikh Ali[23] and vigorously continued aggressive designs against Sultan Muhammad, son and successor of Mubark Shah, who became Sultan in 1434 A.D. In 1441 A.D. the Sultan conferred upon Bahlol Khan Lodi the country of Dibalpur and Lahore and sent him against Jasrath Khokhar who won him to his side by promising to help him to get the throne of Delhi,[24] which the Lodi usurped in 1451 on the death of the last Sayyid ruler. Bahlol was also afraid of the power of Jasrath in his heart of hearts. But as an outward favour bestowed on Jasrath the Chaubhat Doab (the territory between the Chenab and Jhelum) as jagir as a token of gratitude for powerful[25] rebel, and in this affair he received cooperation of his protege from Jammu.

AJEO OR AJEEB DEV (1423 to 1454 A.D.)

Hamir Dev was killed in 1423, leaving behind a minor son, Ajeo Dev. His death was a signal of anarchy in Jammu, and two Rakwal chiefs, Mardana and Jaipal, maternal uncles of Ajeo, seated him on the *gaddi* in consultation with Jamwal courtiers and started wielding ruling power themselves[26]. They usurped all power and appointed their Kinsmen to all important offices, persecuted and drove out Jamwals. They appointed Mehta Bir Singh as Kardar of Ramgarh and Amb-gharota.[27] A certain Saidhu Jamwal also became a great favourite with them. But soon the Jamwal chief left them, sought help of the Charaks, snd they together ousted the Rakwals from power and killed most of them. They then restored Ajeo Dev to power and thus peace and order once more prevailed in the Dogra land.

With the death of Hamir Dev there seems to have been some improvement in Dogra-Khokhar relations. As Jasrath aspired for supremacy over Lahore, he could no longer afford to continue his hostilities with a power in his rear. On the other hand Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir had his own designs of re-possession of Punch, Rajauri. The Kashmiris as well as Khokhar therefore, coveted the friendship of the Dogra chief. Jasrath strengthened his hold on Chaubhat territories, and in order to have closer ties with Jammu, married a slave-girl, 'Mina Kanizak' of Jammu and thus received 50 villages from the Raja of Jammu, which came to be called tappa Mina-wari, later contracted to Minawar or Manaor[28]. This close association of Jammu wiih the Khokhars probably offended Buhlol Lodhi (1451-1487 A.D.), and in order to secure himself

23. *JASB*, 1871, vol I, p. 82; *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* of Badouni (Eng. tr. by Ranking). Vol. I 390 n,

24. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, HIED, IV. pp, 85-86 ; *Rajadarshani*, SPM, fol. 147 b,

25. *Rajadarshcni*, SPM., fol, 148 a.

26. Anon., *Tarikh-Jammu* (MS). RDL, No. 770, pp. 35-36.

27. *Rajdarshani*, SPM. fol. 156 a.

28. *Ibid.* fol. 156 b.

against threatened invasion from Delhi, Ajeo extended his hand of friendship towards Zainul Abidin of Kashmir also. He sent his son, Birem Dev, to the Kashmiri court, in about 1440 where he was welcomed and given a jagir in the valley on which his nephew, Parasram Dev settled down and the latter's desendants remained in its possession for some generations. Ajeo Dev ruled for 31 years and died in 1454. On account of his friendship with the ruler of Kashmir his kingdom remained safe from the depredations of the Khokhars and the Lodi governors of Lahore.

BIRAM DEV (1454 to 1489 A.D.)

On Ajeo Dev's death, Jasrath instigated some people to raise standard of revolt in Jammu, "but Biram Dev quenched it with the help of troops from Kashmir. However, he changed his political affiliations when in November, 1460, he received a precious *Khilat* as a token of recognition as Raja of Jammu, from Sultan Buhlol Lodi[29] to whom he now transferred his allegiance. This he did in view of his worsening relations with the Khokhars who were now being backed up by Zainul Abidin in order to subvert the power of Jammu and bring it under his yoke. The new aligment of Jammu and Dolhi was primarily directed against the Khokhar chief "who was dearest to Zainul Abidin"[30] Buhlol Lodi seems to have commissioned Biram Dev to extriminate the Khokhar chief and sent a force to Jammu to assist the Raja. Biram Dev, however, achieved his object by a strategem, and got Jasrath murdered with the help of Mina, the courtesan, and Bhan, a personal attendant of Jasrath who stabbed him to death in his sleeping chamber.[31] This must have happened in about 1464 A.D. It was by these devices that the ferocious Khokhar leader was destroyed and thus the cause of continuous anarchy in the country was removed. The Khokhar country was given over to the officers of Buhlol Lodi who built in that region in 1464 A.D. a town and named it Buhlolpur. Minawar continued to be bestowed on the courtesan Mina who came to reside at Jammu and the dues of his *Jagir* were collected by the agent of the Raja of Jammu.

(C)

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

To restore order in the disturbed zone of Khokhars, the Raja of Jammu was given the *thanadari* and *nizamat* of Sialkot and Bahlolpur which he administered efficiently for 29 years, upto the accession of Sikandar Lodi, a fanatic ruler, who dispossessed Raja Biram Dev of the *pargana* of Sialkot, drove away his officers by force and made it over to his own men in 1492 A.D. (898 Hijri)[32].

29. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., follo 157 a,
30. *Rajatarangini of Jonaraja*, ed. Sri Kanth Kaul, Stanza 761.
31. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., folio 157 b.
32. *Ibid*, folio 158 a.

In about 1471, the Khokhars, assisted by the Moguls, who had started raiding Indian borders during those years, raised disturbances. Biram Dev successfully curbed these disturbances with the help of Zain-ul-abidin's eldest son Adam Khan, who had been forced to leave the valley by his younger brother, Haider Shah. after Zain-ul-'abidin's death in 1470. Adam Khan had probably gone to Delhi to seek help from Bahlol and returned towards Kashmir with a view to seizing the throne, but on reaching Jammu he was compelled to give up the idea on the news of the death of Hasan Kuchay and other nobles on whose support he had reckoned. He remained at Jammu where he was killed while assisting the Raja of Jammu against the Turks, i.e. Moguls.[33]

A more serious danger threatened Jammu Raj from the depredations of the rebellious Lodi grandees, Tatar Khan, uncle of Bahlol Lodi, and Saif, who rebelled during 1479-80, and seized the Lahore province.[34] Tatar Khan had given shelter to Fath Khan, son of Adam Khan of Kashmir, with whose help he probably thought of occupying Kashmlr and the other hill states and establish his own empire at Lahore. As a first step towards the achievement of his object he invaded Sialkot. This brought him into conflict with Raja Biram Dev[35], who formed a confederacy with the other hill states, including Rajauri and Punch, which were threatened by this new danger to their existence. Biram Dev also approached Sultan Hasan Shah of Kashmir for his help in averting this common danger and in his endeavour to eject the Lodi rebel from Sialkot. The Kashmir ruler immediately despatched an army under Malik Tazi (Or Yari) Bhat[36]. The combined troops of Jammu, Kashmir and Rajauri and Punch, ravaged the districts of northern Punjab, and defeated Tatar Khan in a battle, drove him out of Sialkot. This event probably took place in 1480 A.D.[37], after which Biram Dev re-established his possession on the Sialkot *pargana*.

Biram Dev's reign was known for liberal religious policy and it was during his days that a number of Hindu and Musulman savants made Jammu their abode. In the year 867 Hijri, a certain Sayyid, Qutub' Alam came here from the country of Sabazwar. He made a large number

33. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, of Nizamuddin, Lucknow ed., 1920, Vol III, p. 447; Ferishta, II p. 347. Srivara writes, 'the Raja of Madra; *Tabaqat* names him Manakdev. But there is no such name in the Jammu Vansavali.

Adam Khan's body was later removed to Srinagar and buried beside the tomb of his mother. The notice placed by the Arch. Deptt. states "The traditionally supposed tomb of shahzada Adam Khan son of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, killed in the battle with the Moguls at Jammu... " see also *Camb Hisi. of India*, Vol. III, p. 284 ; Parmu, pp. 176-77.

34. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, *HIED*, p. 440 ; *WaKiat-i-Mushtaki* (MS), p. 16.

35. Dr. R K. Parmu, p. 180, names 'Ajabdev' which is wrong. Ajab or Ajeo Dev, direct successor of Bhim Dev according to all sources, ruled from 1423 to 1444 A.D.

36. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, III, p. 607 ; Firishta, II, p. 348 ; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, III, p. 285.

37. Parmu, R.K., *A Hist, of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, 1320-1819, Delhi, 1969, p. 181.

of Hindus and Muslims his followers. The soft spoken, sweet-tongued *faqir* was fond of milk and sugar, and his devotees brought offerings of Sugar-cane. Hence people began to call him Pir Mitha[88].

His Masoleum is still standing at Jammu and an annual fair is held on the full moon day in the month of Katik. Another famous medicant, Jogi Gharib Dass, came to reside at Jammu in the same period. He resided at Pir Khoh, a cave bearing a 'Siva-linga, which was also known as Khoh—Jamwant——Jamwant's cave. Both these saints were great friends and had a common mixed following of Hindus and Muslims.

Biram Dev ruled upto 1495 A.D. For the last few years of his life, he occupied himself in consoliding his hold on the hill territory from the Ravi to the Jhelum, including Jasrota, Samba, Akhnur, Jammu, Kulaith, Manawar and Manglan. By his good administration he pleased his clansmen and became popular among the people so that a number of legends have been woven around his personality and several popular ballads of his struggles with Muslim rulers and Khokhars were sung by bards of the Dogra land. From these we know that Biram Dev had two younger brothers, Hasal Dev and Channan Dev. Hasal Dev had two sons Abdal and Data, and Channan Dev had one, named Shera. According to one tradition Hasal Dev and Channan Dev lived at Delhi court as hostages where one Pathan got Hasal Dev murdered and Channan Dev was thrown into prison. On hearing of this affair Biram Dev marched towards Delhi at the head of a force, accompanied by his three nephews. But as soon as he reached Delhi, news of the rebellion of a certain Khokar Ghikar was received and the Sultan took Biram Dev in favour, released Channan Dev, gave the Raja an army and deputed him for the suppression of the rebellion on promise of large jagirs in case of successful completion of the mission. Biram Dev stamped out rebellion and restored peace in the disturbed territory. In recognition of his service Behlol Lodi conferred on him the *parganas* of Sialkot, Manawar and Mangla. Shera was honoured with the title of Sher Khan. Biram Dev appointed Abdal to Garh and Data to Mangla. The descendants of Hasal Dev are called Hasalathia or Salathi Rajputs and those of Shera, Sarkhania.

According to another tradition Biram Dev was called to the Delhi Court. He was a handsome youth. The daughter of the Sultan fell in love with him. The Sultan offered to give his daughter in marriage to him provided he became a Musalman. His wazir, Hasal Dev, who had accompanied him to Delhi, contrived to send Biram Dev secretly to Jammu. The Sultan was enraged, and in wrata got Hasal Dev skinned in his presence. The dauntless Rajput laid down his life for the honour of his master.

A third version of the legend narrates that the fugitive Raja was pursued and overtaken by the imperial army at a short distance from

38. *Rajdarshani*, SPM, folio 158.

Delhi, and was killed in a foray. His dead body was brought to Delhi. The princess got a grave dug out for him and got herself inhumated alive besides the corpse of her lover. After a long time people found a baby boy on the grave which was taken to Guru Gorakhnath who happened to be camping in the suburbs, He brought the boy up and made him his disciple. When the boy grew up he got the permission of his *guru* and came to the Dogra land. He came to be called *Siddh Goriya*. Finally he settled at the village Swankh in the house of a Brahman. There he died after living a life full of miracles. After his death people raised a *smadhi* on his ashes, which still exists at the village which became famous as Siddh Swankh because of his association. A big fair is held there on several occasions in a year. The shrine is popular among people as a place of resort in cases of black magic, visitations and occult influences. Some divine power is attributed to the place.

(D) JAMMU AND MUGHAL SUPREMACY

GHOGHAR DEV, C. 1500-1530 A.D.

Biram Dev's son Ghoghar Dev succeeded to the *gaddi*. In the early years of his rule, in about 1506 A.D., there occurred a severe earthquake at Jammu resulting in great loss of life and property. The Raja did his best to provide succour to the needy and earned their gratitude. The Mughals had started their invasions on the Punjab during the first quarter of sixteenth century and Lodi rulers were engaged in the struggle to put a stop on their advance. Ghoghar Dev seems to have held aloof in this struggle.

By 1524 A.D. Babur had ousted Lodi governors from Bahlolpur and Sialkot and was planning to occupy Delhi with the help of disgruntled Lodi chiefs like Alam Khan and Daulat Khan against Ibrahim. Finding the Lodi power dwindling, Ghoghar Dev waited upon Babur at Bhalolpur, He also sent gifts and provisions for the invading army and earned the favour of the invader who accepted his allegiance. After his success in the battle of Panipat in April, 1526 Babur occupied Delhi and Agra and laid the foundation of Mughal rule in India. Ghoghar Dev had already tendered his allegiance to Babur. Now he undertook to protect the caravans of fruit and other *dallies* from Kashmir, from the predatory hordes of Jallal and Chib tribes of Rajouri and Bimber[39]. Afterwards the Raja went to Delhi to tender his personal loyalties. The emperor was pleased to recognise his services by aknowledging him the Raja of the hills. "Henceforward the Rajah and his successors were treated as the allies of the mighty rulers of Hindustan[40]".

Ghoghar Dev ruled for about 30 years. He had three sons, Kapur Dev, Alam Dev and Charan Dev. 'Alam Dev used to live in the Lodi court at Delhi as a hostage. He won a few wars for Sikandar Lodi, who gave him the title of 'Isa Khan' and his descendants in Jammu region are known to this day, as Isa-Khania Rajputs[41].

39. Smyth, G.C., *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 237.
40. *Abid*, p. 239.
41. Anon, *Tarikh-i-Jammu* (Urdu). p. 39.

KAPUR DEY-C. 1530 to 1571 A.D.

Ghoghar Dev's elder son Kapur Dev, succeeded to the *gaddi* in 1530 A.D., a few months before the death of Babur.[42]. He was destined to witness many political upheavals in the imperial fortunes at Delhi and in the Punjab. He was possessed of some political insight and so he abstained from embroiling himself in the disturbing events in the Punjab. He carefully watched the shifting scene in Hindustan where the infant Mughal state founded by Babur was lost by his son to the Afghans under Sher Shah Suri. He tried to move with gingerly steps to avoid conflict either with the Mughals or the Afghans, still the existence of Jammu was threatened when the Afghan ruler, Islam Shah (1545-54 A.D.) led his armies into the Khokhar hills in pursuit of the rebel, Azam Humayun. After his successful campaign, he halted at the village Ban near Sialkot on his way back. He planned to reduce its citadel and imprison its Raja, but in the meanwhile Mirza Kamran fled from Humayun's court in Kabul and sought refuge with Islam Shah. In view of Humayun's expected advance into India, Islam Shah did not find it prudent to antagonise Raja Kapur Dev.[43] The idea of reducing Jammu was given up and the Sur King started for Delhi with the fugitive Mirza. The Mirza suspected foul play and escaped to the hills and finally reached Jammu. Raja Kapur Dev received him with due respect and honour and assured him that even if the combined mlght of Indian and Irani kings would be diverted against him he would never surrender him. Kamran felt assured and consented to stay on.[44].

Kapur Dev arranged Mirza's hide out at Mankot with his vassel Raja Bartap Dev Roy. The Mirza whiled away his time in hunting with Raja Partap Dev Roy. One day while hunting with the Raja, he stood near a very high snober tree and shot his arrow which struck the highest branch of the tree. The Mirza said, whoever will bring the arrow back to him will be paid ten rupees as prize. Raja left his horse ascended the tree and restored the arrow to the Mirza. The Mirza besides giving him the prize, bestowed *Khilat* also upon the Raja, but reflected that a person who can put his life in danger for such a petty prize, what guarantee tnere was that for a bigger prize he would not surrender him to his enemies.[45] He immediately left his Kohistan hide out and took refuge with Adam Khokhar who made him over to Humayun, who took him to Kabul, blinded him and sent him to Mecca[46].

The conversion to Islam by force and by temptation in this region has been recorded in several instances. In one case during this reign a Manhas chief, Maluk, of Bara Manga, was induced to become Musalman in return for remission of the crime of murder by one Sher Khan, the

42. *Ibid*, p. 497.
43. *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 166 a.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Tazkiratu I-Waki'at* of Jauhar, *HIED*, Vol., V, pp. 147—49 *Rajdarshaui*, SPM ; fol. 166 a.

Sur governor of Kalanaur-Batala.[47]. From him, descended the Manhas converts. Kapur Dev did not like this Muslim chief in his neighbourhood. Once he learnt that Sher Khan is preparing to make incursion into foothill country. He therefore, sent a strong force under one of his sons, named Omul born of his Jatti concubine, who completely vanquished Sher Khan in a battle and the latter fled away for life. As a reward for this bravery Omul was raised in status equal to the royal sons.[48] It was probably during these days that Islam Shah thought of reducing the fort of Jammu on his return from the Khokhar country. Soon after, Kapur Dev presented himself before the Sultan at Kalanaur along with his 22 sons and offered his submission and rendered him assistance in suppressing rebellions in the Khokhar and Kashmir hills.

His two eldest sons, Jagdev and Samahal Dev, were born on the same day to two different Ranis. Consequently, there was no love lost between the two brothers. In order to prevent any possible future trouble Kapur Dev divided his Kingdom into two principalities with headquarters at Jammu and Bahu, and installed Jagdev at Bahu and Samahal Dev at Jammu as rulers, in the 15th year of Akbar's reign (A.D., 1570), before his death in A.D. 1571. This division of Jammu Kingdom lasted for a few generations.

JAGDEV, 1571 A.D. to 1590.

Raja Jag Dev held his court at Bahu, But he was not destined to rule in peace. Mian Lal Dev, Who was the most handsome and brave of all the 22 sons of Kapur Dev, and cherished a secret enmity towards Jagdev and wished his downfall, had secretly intrigued against him. At last, when in the 34th year of Akbar's reign (1589-90 A.D,) Sadiq Khan, the Mughal *Hakim* of Sialkot, came to Jammu in order to collect *nazrana*, Lal Dev met him in camera during the night, through his *peshkar*, Sundar Dass, and offered to pay a lakh of rupees for the throne of Bahu, provided the Hakim sent for Raja Jagdev and imprisoned him. Next day when Jagdev went to the *Nazim* to pay homage, he was coldly received and rebuked for alleged negligence and ordered to be imprisoned The Raja drew out his sword, and in the scuffle that followed, he was killed. When the agent of the *Hakim* came to Jammu to inform Lal Dev of the incident, the whole affair became public and the blame of the death of Jagdev became imputed to Lal Dev. In order to remove the slur, he went back npon his words and publicly declared that he would personally avenge the murder of his brother. He atonce gathered a contingent of brave Rajputs and stormed the *Nazim's* camp. The force of Sadiq Khan fled pell mell and a large booty fell to the hands of Lal Dev, who now seated on the throne of Bahu, Paras Ram, son of Jag Dev and thus made proper expiation for his complicity in the latter's murder.[49]

47. Anon *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 41.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Rajbarshani*, SPM, folios, 182-83

After this successful revolt against the Mughal Nazim, Lal Dev dominated the politics of Bahu and Jammu for some time and seems to have been the most influential prince in these hills. *Samahl Dev*, (A.D., 1571-1594), the Raja of Jammu was a simple-minded person, His brother, Dange Man or Mian Mana of local tradition, whose name in the *Akbarnama* occurrs as 'Man *Zamindar* of Jammu, performed the *Nizamat*, or administrative functions. Thus both the principalities were practically ruled by their most influential courtiers. Lal Dev entirely dispossessed the chief of Ramgarh, usurped the place and founded a fort and palace opposite Ambaran, on the bank of the river Chenab. He named it Surgarh, made it his abode and led a princely life.[50] Mian Mana, on the other side usurped all authority at Jammu, became minister and administrator of Raja Samahal Dev. These two Dogra chiefs were reluctant to accept the Mughal yoke which they flouted for many years and engineered revolts in Jammu region now and then causing flare up in the hills from the Chenab to the Satluj.

One such revolt took place in 1589-90 A.D., in 35th year of Akbar's reign. The suceess of the Dogra chiefs against Sadiq Khan, the Mughal *Nazim* of Sialkot, served as a signal for a general out break in which a number of states lying between the Satluj and the Chenab were involved, including Raja Bidhi Chand of Kangra, Parasram of Bahu, Partap of Mankot, Rai Krishna Balauria of Basohli, Rai Bhan of Jasrota, Balbhadra of Lakhanpur, Raja Basu of Mau (Nurpur), and a number of Rajas of Kangra hill states.[51] The united force of these Rajas numbered about 10,000 horse and one lakh foot. Akbar deputed his foster brother Zain Khan Koka for the suppression of the rebellion.[52] The Mughal general led an expedition from Pathankot eastwards as far as Sutluj and subdued all the chiefs and carried them to the presence of Akbar who pardoned them and allowed them to return to their principalities as his vassals. The force sent against Jammu, however, did not succeed and the flouting of Mughal authority by Lal Dev and Dange Man continued in spite of the fact that "Armaments had several times been sent under Amirs of distinction to effect the subjugation of Jammu, Ramgarh and other places, but this difficult enterprise had never been satisfactorily accomplished."[53]

However, power of Jammu received a set back by the death of Samahl Dev in 1594 A.D., who left behind only a minor son, Samgram Dev, to succeed. Man, the Minister of Jammu, retained all administrative powers in his hand. He was already in the bad books of the Mughal authorities, so that, on his way back from Kashmir the same

50. *Ibid*, falio 183 a.

51. *Rajdarshaai, SPM, fol. 183 b.*

52. *Maasirul-Umara*, vol. ii, p. 367.

53. *Ibid*, 367 ff.

year, Akbar decided to reduce Jammu to submission, perhaps on inducement from Raja Parasram of Bhau who presented himself in the imperial court at Lahore. So he sent a considerable force in September, 1594 to reduce Jammu, Ramgarh and other places. Hussain Beg and some other officers were sent against Jammu, "One of the strongest forts in that couutry."[54] On the approach of the Mughal force, Dange Man secretly sent away his family to Bahu and advanced with an army to Padial where Lal Dev also joined him.[55] A fierce battle was fought in which the Dogra chiefs were defeated and fled away and Husain Beg occupied Jammu.[56] Leaving a garrison there the Mughal officers marched against the fort of Ramgarh, which was taken by assault, and placed in the custody of the men of Nawab Zain Khan Koka. Husain Beg now returned and joined the main force. Akbar acknowledged Parasram Raja of Bahu and Jammu, and took along with him to Delhi Raja Sangram Dev of Jammu and Balbhadar, as hostages.[57] Apprehensive of the retribution of his misdeeds, Lal Dev escaped with his family in a boat by the river Chenab, and was never heard of again.[58] Man once again gathered some men and took to the devastation of the Mughal territory. Consequently, Hussain Beg was again sent to chastise the Jamwal rebel. Man took to guerrila war-fare, killed and wounded a number of Mughals. The Rajas of Jasrota, Lakhanpur, Mankot and Dhameri (Nurpur) also came to his assistance, with the result that much destruction was wrought to the Mughal forces. and desultory warfare continued for some time before Man was worsted and unable to resist any longer, he escaped to the rugged mountains.[59] The districts of Jammu and Ramgarh were completely brought under Mughal cantrol" with the cooperation of Raja Parasram (of Bahu), who had sided with the armies of Emperor Akbar![60] Some minor chiefs and *Zamindars* all around were also subdued. Now the Mughals marched towards Jasrota and Lakhanpur, and several Rajas and *zamindars*, who had long been independent, submitted and paid their tribute. When the army reached Samba, Bhabu the Raja of Jasrota and Balidar (Balbhadar) of Lakhanpur, came in. The Raja of Jasrota had been the leader of the rebels. His submission marked the end of disturbances in Jammu hills, which remained peaceful for a long time afterwards. Next day Suraj Mal, Son of Raja Basu of Mau (Nurpur-Pathankot Raj), also came in and tendered his allegiance. In order to maintain a strong hold on Samba, a fort was built about 4 miles distant from it, and a garrison left there. Bhabu "had been the chief and most active of the rebels, and he had done an immense deal of harm." Now that he was in the hands of the army, it was determined to send him to the Emperor in charge of Ali

54. *Akbarnama*, HIED, Vol. VI, p. 125.
55. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 40.
56. *Akbarnama*, op. cit., p. 125.
57. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, pp. 46-47.
58. *Ibid.* p. 47.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Rajdarshani*. SPM., folio 184 a.

Muhammad.[61] Now whole of the force was directed against the reduction of Jasrota, the native place of Bhabu.

When the army reached Jasrota, on the bank of the river Ujh, sons and friends of Bhabu gathered, and took up a strong position at a small castle on a hill. "The hill was covered with jungle from top to bottom, with only one narrow way, along which one or two horse-men might pass. On each side of the road there was a wall, with loopholes through which muskets might be fired, and arrows shot, upon strangers and foes, to prevent their approach. At the bottom of the hill, at the level ground, there was a cultivated tract in which there was a fort, with moats."

The Mughal commanders, Shaikh Farid and Husain Beg at once attacked the lower fort. By great exertion the moat was filled, the gates burst open, and the fort was taken. But several of the assailants were killed by wounds from gun-shots and arrows. The troops entered the jungle to attack the upper fort. The defenders showered bullets and arrows from all sides but they were out numbered and the invaders stormed the fort. The Jasrotias were badly driven out. All their buildings and crops were burnt.[62]

Thus fell the stronghold of the Jasrotias after a valiant resistance for the whole day against over-whelming numbers. The defenders, however, were not routed. They took positions at various vantage points in the jungle and hill tops and did not allow the invaders to retreat through the narrow and difficult path. All night long they harassed them from all parts of the jungle with arrows. The Mughal soldiers sat motion less behind the breast work with their shields over their heads, "never moving or making a noise." They passed the night thus amid a constant rain of arrows. However in the morning the Mughals made an effective occupation of the place, and Mughal garrison was left under Hussain Beg. Then the army proceeded towards Lakhanpur. The Raja came out to tender his submission. The *pargana* was given over to Muhammad Khan Turkoman and a sufficient garrison was placed in the fort.[63] The army then crossed the Ravi by ford and left the Jammu territory, and reached the *pargana* of Pathankot to conduct operations in the Kangra and Jaswan hills.

SANGRAM DEV—C. 1594 to 1626 A.D.

After the suppression of the revolt things seem to have remained quiet in the Jammu hills for a long time and we read of no more outbreaks. The *parganas* of Jammu, Ramgarh, Jasrota, Mankot and Akhnur were placed under Mughal officers in consultation with Raja Parasram of Bahu[64]. Raja Man Singh, the *Jagirdar* of Sialkot, was made

61. *Akbarnama, op, cit.*
62. *Akbarnama,* HIED, Vol. VI, P. 127.
63. *Ibid.* p. 128.
64. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri,* (Persian text), Lucknow ed., p. 227 ; *Rajdarshani,* SPM, fol. 184 b.

the first Mughal *faujdar* of Jammu who continued throughout the reign of Akbar and the first decade of Jahangir's rule. Parasram was made the Raja, both of Jammu and Bahu[65]. Sangram Dev of Jammu, however, had now grown of age. He accompanied Jahangir on his campaigns in the Deccan, and won his favour. The emperor made him a *'hazari' mansabdar*, and recognised him as ruler of Jammu in 1619.[66] During these years Sangram Dev seems to have developed some differences with Raja Man, who was ptobably well disposed towards the Bahu Rajas and did not like Sangram's rising in favour with Jahangir. When Raja Man was appointed to succeed Shaik Farid Murtaza Khan in the government of the Punjab, he heard that "Sangram, one of the *Zamindars* of the hill country of the Punjab" had taken possession of part of his province, he proceeded to drive him out. As Sangram was unable to make a stand he retreated into the hills, and Raja Man pursued him with a small force and seems to have fallen into an ambush. A fight took place and Raja Mnn was killed[67]. Inspite of this incident Sangram Dev continued to be rising in favour with Jahangir who once again confirmed him to the *pargana* of Jammu[68].

A little after, in 1620 A.D., Raja Sangram Dev rendered distinguished services to Jahangir by assisting his officers in Kashmir in their expedition against Kishtwar. Partap Singh alias Bhup Singh, Raja of Kishtwar, was son-in-law of Sangram Dev. He had given shelter to two fugitive chiefs of Kashmir who constantly harassed the Mughals in Kashmir by their sallies from Kishtwar mountains. He also beat back a Mugl al force sent against him. In 1920 Dilawar Khan was sent at the head of 10,000 men in order to reduce Kishtwar to subjection. Sangram Dev also received orders from Jahangir, then probably in Kashmir, to send a contingent to co operate in suppressing this popular outbreak Bhup Singh fought valiently. but was finally defeated and killed, and Kishtwar became subject to Iahangir,[69] In recognition of these services Jahangir raised the *mansvb* (rank) of Sangram Dev to 1,500 foot and 1,000 horsemen.[70]

The following year, in 1621, he helped Mughal officer, Qasim Khan, in reducing Kangra and in recognition of these services his rank was raised to three thousand (*Seh-hazari*). The fort however. could not be taken due to the death of the Mughal commander. Now Sundar Dass was entrusted with this task, and finally with the assistance of Sangram Dev and Raja Jagat Singh of Dhameri (Nurpur). Kangra fort was taken by the Mughals in Muharam, 1041 H After sometime Sangram was ordered to accompany Prince Khurrum to the Deccan where he breathed

65. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, p. 273.
66. *Ibid*, p. 308.
67 *Ibid*,
68. *Ibid*,
69. *Tuzak-i Jahangiri* (Persian text), Lucknaw ed., pp. 298-300, 317 : Sheoji Dar, *Tarikh-i Kishtwar* (Persian), pp, 31-32 ;
70. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, p. 319 ; *Rajdarshani*, fol. 185 a.

his last in the 21st year of Jahangir's rule, i.e. in 1626 A.D., after reigning for over 32 years.[71]

Sangram Dev seems to have been a brave soldier and an experienced general and administrator. But for his rivals of Bahu, he would have preferred to fend for his autonomous Raj. It was through loyal services that he won the good will of the Mughal Emperor and got back his Jammu Raj, and earned the title of 'Raja' and the three thousand *mansab* in the Mughal hegemony. By his shere ability he reconsolidated Jammu Raj, left it better organised and more powerful than the rival principality of Bahu. In fact the latter had been eclipsed by Jammu and its subordination was now a matter of few decades.

The history of Bahuwals after Parasram Dev is not known in detail. As narrated earlier, Parasram Dev was a great favourite of Emperor Akbar. One Ochhab Charak was his wazir. He was a great soldier and had conquered Sialkot and annexed it to the Bahu principality. His three younger brothers, Shafi Dev, Sahib Dev and Kandev also helped him to extend his Kingdom. But during the reign of Jahangir, the Raja of Bahu had fallen in favour. At that time, a Mughal chief. Tatar Khan invaded and conquered Sialkot and Parasram Dev fled to Kashmir in the court of Jahangir there who took him under his patronage[72].

After Parasram Dev's death, his son Kishan Dev alias Ajit Dev, became Raja of Bahu in about 1610 A.D. He had two sons, Narpati or Azmat Dev and Kripal Dev. Azmat Dev became Raja but died after 3 or 4 years' rule and was succeeded by his brother Kripal Dev in about 1660 A.D.

Kirpal Dev was a brave and influential ruler. He is said to have got the old stony path to Vaishno Devi Shrine prepared. He extended the boundaries of his kingdom. His name is mentioned in the Chamba annals, probably between A.D. 1670-1680,[73] in connection with a confederacy including Kripal Dev of Jammu (i.e., Bahu), Chatar Singh of Chamba, Dhiraj Pal of Basohli, and Raj Singh of Guler against the Mughal Viceroy of the Punjab, Khwaja Rezia Beg. Iammu sent Pathan mercenaries. This combined force attacked Rezia Beg, defeated and expelled him from the Hills.[74] This seems to have been the last known struggle of the Hill chiefs against Mughal dominace after which Mughal hold on Jammu Hills seems to have slackened and was finally swept away by Dhruv Dev, although Kangra remained a Mughal *faujdari* as late as 1783 A.D.

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71. According to the *Vansavali*, Kripal Dev was succeeded by Anand or *Rajdarshani*, SPM., folios 185 b-186 a.
72. Nargis. Narsing Das, *Tarikh-i.Dogra Desh*, p. 205.
73. *Chamba Gazetteer*, 1909. p. 94.
74. *HPHS*, vol. II. p. 539.

Anant Dev and the latter by Kabir Dev.[75] It is said that one cause of the disintegration of the power of the Bahu principality was the civil war between Bahu and their kinsmen of Jasrota. This Chvelerous war was caused by Mian Nath, the minister of Raja Kripal Dev of Bahu. The minister was offended with the Raja on the possession of a fine rifle with Mian Nath. The Mian left his master and took shelter with the people of Jasrota, which led to the battle between the Bahuwal and the Jasrotia clans, resulting in a great loss of heroic warriors and war material. Several veteran generals were killed and the strength of Bahu both in men and material was wholly drained away.[76]

After Kripal Dev, Raja Ugar Dev tried to revive the power of Bahu, but when Ranjit Dev got released after twelve years' imprisonment, he ejected Ugar Dev from Jammu and Bahu, in 1745, the latter fled to Lahore and probably died in the same year. With his death, the Bahuwals sub-merged into the subject people of Jammu.

Sangram Dev of Jammu had two sons, Bhupat and Dalpat. The latter became the ancestor of Rajputs of Dalpatia clan. *Bhupat* ascended the throne of Jammu in the first year of the reign of Shahjahan i.e., in 1627 and ruled upto 1656 A.D. Nothing is known of his reign except that his signature occurs on a Persian *sanad* (now in Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba), given by a Mughal officer under the orders of the Viceroy of the Punjab, and dealing with a boundary dispute between Raja Prithvi Singh of Chamba and Sangram Pal of Basholi.[77] It is dated 19th Safar, 1058 H. corresponding to 15th March, 1648 A.D. ? and Bhupat Dev is there called "Rai Bhupat Jamwal." According to *Shahjahan-nama*, Bhupat was got treacherously murdered by Shah Quli Khan, the Mughal *Faujdar* of Kangra, in about 1656 A.D.[78]

HARI DEV—C. 1656 A.D. to 1692 A.D., and GAJE Singh, 1692 to 1707 A.D.

Raja Bhupat or Bhupati Dev had two sons, Hari Dev and Sarang Dhar Dev. Hari Dev became Raja of Jammu in the first year of Aurangzeb's reign, i.e., in 10 7 H. (A.D. 1656). He seems to have specially befriended the Mughal officers posted over Jammu, and with their concurrence he ejected Bahu-wals from Bahu, probably during last decade of his rule, and after the death of Kripal Dev of Bahu. Afterwards, Gaje Singh, his son and successor, also ruled over Bahu as well. Both these Rajas were Mughal *Mansabadars*, and in that capacity fought Aurangzeb's battles and won his good-will to their cause, and with Mughal cooperation strengthened the Jammu Raj. As stated above the division of Jammu Raj by Kapur Dev in about 1570, had weakened the state, and the ensuing Jammu-Bahu struggle further sapped its energy and invited frequent intervention by Mughal officers. Jamuu

75. *Rajdarshani*, SPM. fo. 183a.
76. Nargis, Narsing Das, Op. Cit. pp. 206:207.
77. *HPHS*, Vol. II, p. 539.
78. Nargis, Narsing Dass, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des* (Urdu), p. 77.

Raj therefore, had become subject to Mughal authority and it was finally subverted by Akbar in 1594-95. The Mughal rulers appointed their own *Faujdars* in Jammu, Who probably acted as military governors and agents of the Mughal Emperors, invested with powers to enforce allegiance and wrest tribute whereas the local Rajas of Jammu and Bahu were also retained in office as vassals and *Mansabdars* of the Mughals. This arrangement assured the willing submission and co-operation of the people and the ruling clan.

The same arrangement seems to have continued during the rule of Bhupat Dev, Hari Dev and Gajai Singh, from about 1626 to some year after 1700 A.D. We have several stray references In the *Ma'asiru-I-Umara* to the appointment of *Faujdars* at Jammu during these years. Thus in the second year (A.D. 1628) of the reign of Shahjahan, Mukhlis Ullah Khan was made *faujdar* of Jammu.[79] In the sixth year of Aurangzeb's reign (A.D. 1662-63), a certain official Fidai is mentioned in connection with Jammu[80]. Somewhere in the middle of Aurangzeb's reign Amir Khan Mir-i-Miran was made *Faujdar* of the hill-country of Jammu.[81]

The *Rajdarshani* mentions the appointment of Kahalil Ullah Khan to the *Faujdari* of Jammu by Aurangzeb 'Alamgir a few years before Amir Khan. Khalil Ullah Khan established his camp at Jammu below the Mandi Mal Dev, The military camp or cantonment of the Mughals was called "Urdu" consequently, the place came to be called "Urdu", and when a year later Amir Khan also setup his camp there for a number of years, a colony grew up with the name 'mohalla Urdu' and 'Urdu Bazar[82]; Which it retained, till after independence, when it was re-named 'Rajinder Bazar ! In the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign, probably in about 1702 A.D., Mun'im Khan Khan-i-Khanan was appointed governor of the Punjab, and "the *faujdari* of Jammu was made an additional charge for the Khan."[83] Probably between the tenures of *faujdari* of Amir Khan and Mun'im Khan, another officer, Shahbaz Khan Afghan, remained *faujdar* at Jammu.

Faujdar Amir Khan treated the Jammu people nicely and won the confidence of the rulers and the people, and induced Raja Hari Dev to go to the imperial court of Delhi, where he was held up for several years and had to accompany Aurangzeb and his generals on many Deccan campaigns. It was in one of these campaigns that Harl Dev died in Deccan[84] in 1692 A.D. In his absence at Delhi, his brother Sarang Dhar Dev ruled in Jammu. In order to curry favour with the Mughal *Faujdar* and through him, with Aurangzeb, Sarang Dhar built

79. *Ma' asiru-I-Umara* of Shahnawaz Khan, Eng. trans., vol. i, p. 157.
80. *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 313.
81. *Ibid*., p. 246.
82. *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 190 a.
83. *Ma' asiru-I-Umara*, Eng. trans, Vol. II, p. 293.
84. *Rajdarshani*, fol. 190 b.

mosques at Jammu and at Bahu, and allowed the call of the prayer, and appointed *Qazi* and *Khatib*.

However, on the death of Hari Dev, Sarang Dhar was set aside and the former's son, *Gaje Singh*, was acknowledged as Raja of Jammu by Aurangzeb. Gaje singh's reign was uneventful, except that Guru Govind Singh came on a pilgrimage to Purmandal. The Guru came to Jammu also on invitation of the Raja, who accompanied by his brother, Jaswant Singh, went out to receive the Guru. The Guru also went on pilgrimage to the Vaisnu Shrine. On his way back he stayed with the Raja and blessed him, and gave one steel lance to Jaswant Singh, which was known to be with his descendant, Mian Rattan Dev, during the reign of Ranjit Dev.[85]

In the earlier part of Gaje Singh's reign, Jaswant Singh tried to establish his separate court at the Purani Mandi, while Gaje Singh had shifted his court to a new spot on the bank of the Tawi, the present Mandi Mubarak. But soon afterwards he became reconciled to his elder brother and accepted his supermacy after marking the '*Raj-tilak*' on the fore-head of Gaje Singh with his own finger. This tradition of marking '*Raj-tilak*' by the descendants of Jaswant Singh on the fore-head of every new Raja, was continued till the accession of Maharaja Hari Singh.

DHRUV DEV—C. A.D. 1707-1733

Dhruv Dev succeeded his father Gaje Singh, in the year 1707 A.D., when Emperor Aurangzeb died and Bahadur Shah, on his way back from Kabul, announced his accession to the throne at Lahore. Shahbaz Khan, the last *Fanjdar* of Jammu, left for Lahore to tender his loyalty to the new Emperor, and accompanied him to Delhi. Dhruv Dev drove out of his territory the remnants of Mughal administrators. Taking advantage of the chaos that prevailed for some time in the Mughal court because of the weak successors of Aurangzeb, Dhruv Dev strove for independence. The Mughal governors of Lahore were engaged in fighting the Sikhs in the Punjab. This gave Dhruv Dev opportunity to re-organise his Raj and strengthen his hold on his territory. He established his sway over the surrounding Hill states, several of which were off shoots of the Jammu ruling family, and extended it even upto the river Jehlum in the west, When Banda Bahadur was defeated in the Punjab in about 1712, and sought refuge in the region of Jammu, Dhruv Dev provided him shelter and sent him to Bhimbar hills.[86] Banda resided there for some time, waiting for his opportunity. The place where he lived in Bhimbar hills, came to be called Dehra Guru Banda.[87]

Dhruv Dev also seems to have helped Banda in fighting against the Mughal armies in the Basohli-Jarota hills, and got his co-operation in

85. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., fol. 190 b.
86. *Rajdarshani*, fol. 191 b.
87. *Ibid*, 192 a.

driving the Mughal officers out of his principality. There is a reference to such an event during the closing years of the reign of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712 A.D.) when a Mughal officer, named Qutab-ud-Din Khan, carried military operations in 'the *Faujdari* of Jammu' and was killed by "the oppressed Guru", i.e., Banda Bahadur.[88] This incident occurred in the Basohli-Lakhanpur hills, which were also included in the '*Faujdari* of Jammu. Dhruv Dev's sway, therefore, extended up to the Ravi in the east. Jammu had already an undisputed possession over the principalities lying in the hills to the north and over the eastern states of Samba, Jasrota, Lakhanpur, Bhaddu and Balawar (Basohli).[89] This fact is borne out by two incidents recorded in the Chamba annals.

The first incident happened probably in the early part of Dhruv Dev's reign, when Udai Singh was Raja of Chamba (1690-1720 A.D.), and guardian of the minor ruler of Guler. Jamuu invaded Guler with the assistance of Bhadu and Basohli. In her extremity the queen-mother appealed to Udai Singh for help. With the help of Siba, Mandi and Kahlur (Bilaspur), Udai Singh drove out the invaders and established Dalip Singh on the *gaddi*.[90]

This incident gives some glimpses of the rising power of Jammu. On the one hand it reveals the association of the three states of Jammu, Basohli and Bhadu ; On the other it testifies to the expansionist policy of Dhruv Dev, who laid the foundation of the Dogra State of Jammu and extended his supremacy over the neighbouring hill states. The invasion on Guler to the east of the Ravi was an attempt in the same direction which did not meet with success.

On another occasion Raja Udai Singh of Chamba who had been suspended from power drove out his antagonist Ugar Singh, and re-gained the *gaddi*. Ugar Singh fled to Jammu where he found an asylum, and was hospitably treated by Raja Dhruv Dev, till recalled to Chamba on Udai Singh's death.[91]

Although Bahu principality had been annexed to Jammu by Raja Hari Dev. yet Anand Dev tried to revive his ancestral seat of power with the help of Mughal officers in the Punjab. Dhruv Dev, however, out-witted his rivals by contracting friendship with Nawab Qamar-ud-Din, the Wazir of Emperor Muhammad Shah, and re-occupied Bahu, ousted the Bahuwals and compelled them to live in Jammu city as his subjects. Thus was finally resolved the Jammu-Bahu struggle which razed in the Dogra land for over a century, and had become the chief cause of the degeneration of Jammu Raj during the seventeenth century.

Raja Gaje Singh (1692-1707) had selected a new site for his residence on the bank of the Tawi, and seems to have constructed some

88. *Ma' asir-ul-Umara*, Eng. trans., Vol. II, p. 147.
89. Charak, S.D.S., *Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom*, p. 27.
90. *Chamba Gazetteer*, pd. 95-96.
91. *Rajdarshani*, SPM., fol. 193 b.

courts there. The chief residence of the Rajas upto the beginning of Dhruv Dev's reign, had been at the Mandi Maldev, now called the Purani Mandi. To the north side of it was situated the 'Mohalla Rajan' and to its south and east, on the slopes was perched the colony of the Mians. Dhruv Dev however, chose to build his palace on the site selected by his father. So, in the year 1126 H (A.D. 1714), during the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar, he first of all invoked the blessings of the domestic deity 'Rani Parmeshwari by repairing and restoring the old temple of the family deity, which was first built by Raja Chakar Dhar Dev.[92] Afterwards he built a grand palace on the Dhaunthali Spur along the right bank of the Tawi, to the south of which he constructed a spacious Court or Mandi for official and public business, and shifted the royal house hold and darbar to that place. The new mansion came to be called Darbargarh, and the old residence became known as Purani Mandi or Maldev-ki-Mandi.[93] Most of the grand mansions which stand to this day on the new site, belong to Dhruv Dev's period. To these, a few portions were added by Maharaja Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh.

During the three centuries of the later middle age, Jammu played an important role in the politics of the Hills and of the Northern Punjab. The struggle of the Rajas of Jammu against the Khokhars was as effective as that of the Sultans of Delhi and their governors at Lahore and Dipalpur. At the same time, Jammu seems to have maintained its independence longer than any other Hill State. The effective subjugation of Jammu and its dependencies could not be possible before 1594 A.D. during Akbar's reign. Even after that, the people of Jammu behaved more as allies of the great Mughals than their tributaries. They were loyal vassals only so long as they were treated with honour.

From the reign of Jahangir, the Rajas of Jammu and Bahu served the Mughal cause as their *mansabdars*, and also held their territories as subordinate Rajas. By the time of Aurangzeb, the principalities of Jammu and Bahu had been weakened on account of division and had been reduced to abject subordination. The superior Mughal officers called *faujdars* were placed on Jammu from the last decade of Akbar's reign. But excepting a few cases, the rulers of Jammu never tolerated superiors and always resisted imposition of direct Mughal rule in their territories. During the later part of Aurangzeb's reign, the rulers of Jammu had started flouting the *faujdars*, and as soon as that emperor died, the people of Jammu drove away Mughal officers from their territory and became independent.

As the annals narrated in this chapter show, the existence of Jammu as a political entity was fraught with constant warfare which chiselled the Dogras into a fine martial race, and prepared them for a more sublime role in the politics of north-western India under the able leadership of Ranjit Dev whose rule followed that of Dhruv Dev.

92. *Ibid.*
93. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER SIX

Maharaja Ranjit Dev, 1733-1782

EXPANSION AID CONSOLIDATION OF JAMMU RAJ

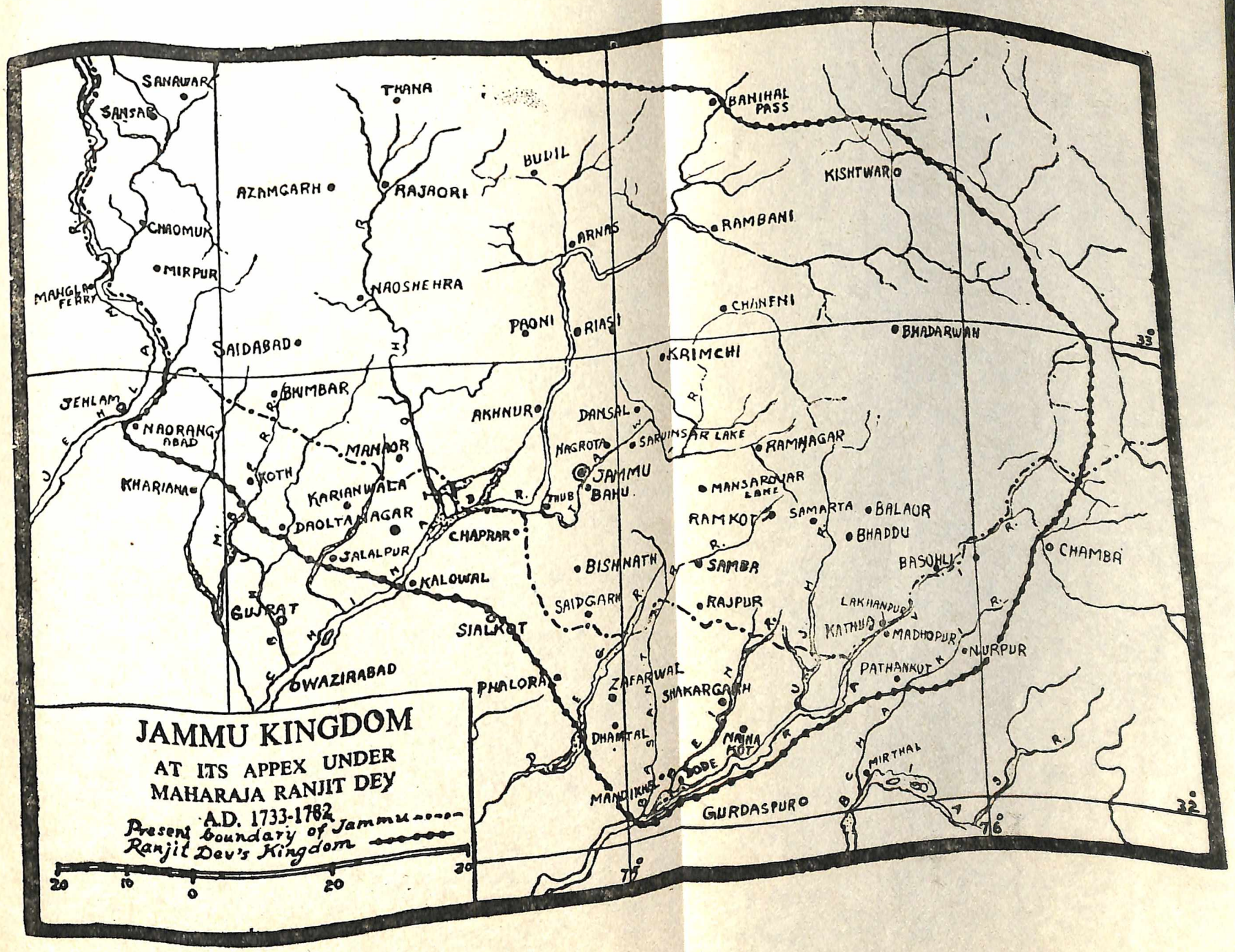
Ranjit Dev who succeeded Dhrub Dev in 1733[1], continued the imperialist policy of his father. Under this enlightened ruler the principality of Jammu acquired a fairly stable government. He played a prominent role in the politics of the Punjab and the social and economic life of Jammu till his death in A.D. 1782. He was perhaps the most notable ruler ever to rule Jammu[2] before Maharaja Gulab Singh. He came to the *gaddi* during the most crucial period of the history of the Punjab and the Dogra-Pahari Hill States. The structure of the political power in these territories had been shattered. On the one hand Mughal Fmperors of Delhi frantically tried to maintain a precarious hold on the Panjab plains and the Siwalik Hills through their self-seeking governors. On the other side the Sikh misls were trying to wrest as much territory of Mughal Punjab as possible. In this hot contest entered the third element—the Abdalis or Durranis of Kabul under Ahmad Shah. Ranjit Dev pursued his imperialistic ambition amidst this confusion created by these three claimants to sovereignty over the Punjab and the Hill States.

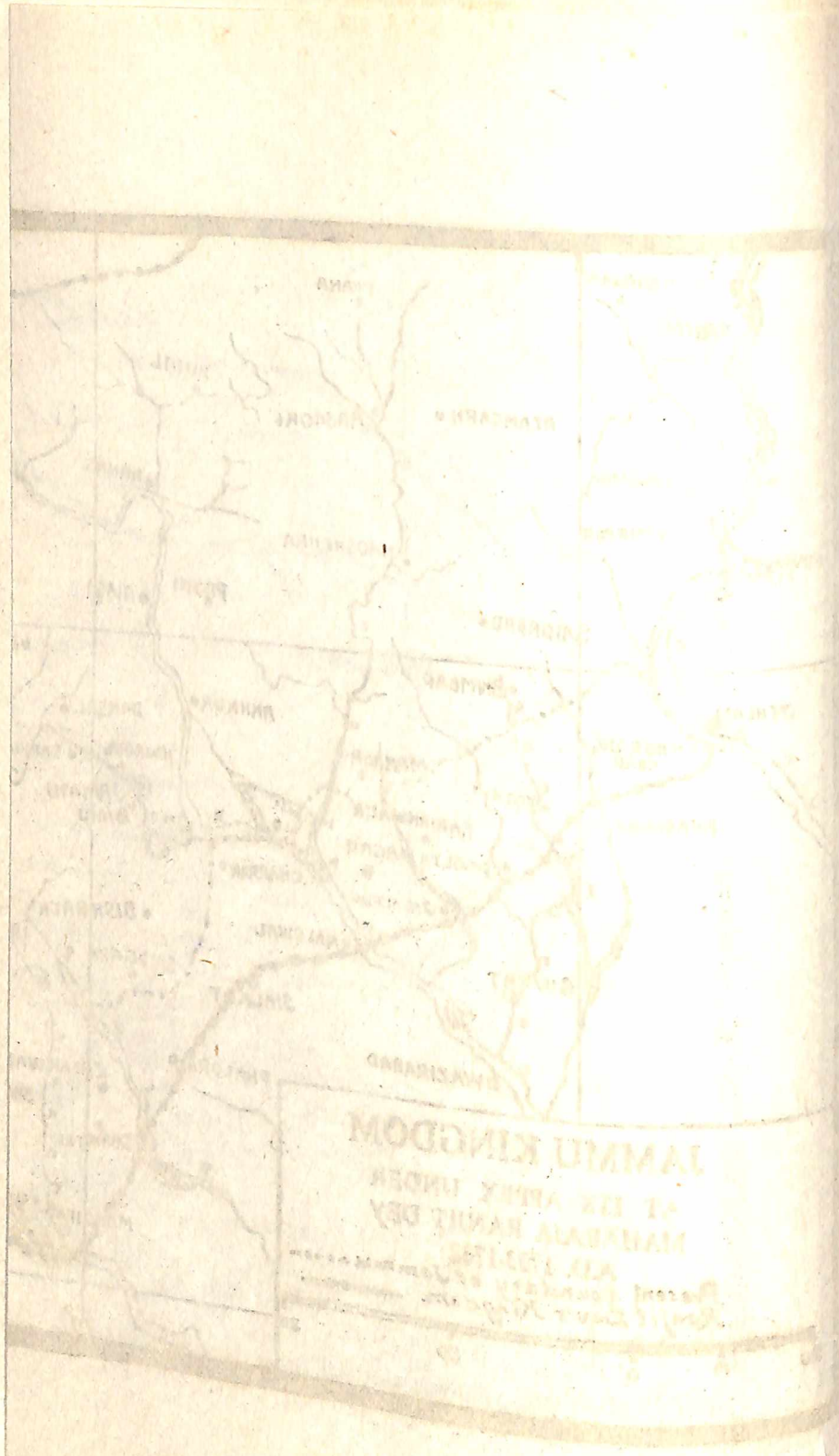
Dhruv Dev had four sons—Ranjit Dev, Ghansar Dev, Surat Singh, and Balwant Singh.[3] Ranjit Dev, being the eldest son, followed his father on the throne of Jammu at a time when it was all chaos in the Punjab. The invasions of Nadir Shah and the Marahattas, and the growing power of the Sikhs in the Panjab had hastened the downfall of Mughal empire which reached the crisis in 1752 A.D, with the cession of Province of the Punjab to Ahmad Shah Durani.[4] With this cession the Hill States also came under the supremacy of the Durranis.

Kashmir was directly under the Afghan rule from 1752 to 1819 when it was conquered and occupied by Ranjit Singh, and the associated States were tributary till the Sikh invasions began in 1818.[5]

Encouraged by the anarchy which prevailed in the plains all the

1. Diwan Kirpa Ram makes him succeed to the throne iu about 1725 : Cf. *Gulab.*, p. 26.
2. *HP.H.S.* p. 29.
3. *Gulab* ; p. 71.
4. *Ibid.* p. 534.
5. *Ibid.* pp. 77-78.


SANAWAR
SANSAR
THANA
BANIHAL PASS
BUDIL
KISHTWAR
AZAMGARH
RAJAORI
RAMBANI
CHAOMUK
ARNAS
MIRPUR
MANGLA FERRY
NAOSHEHRA
CHANFNI
PAONI
RIASI
BHADARWAN
SAIDABAD
KRIMCHI
JEHLAM
BHIMBAR
AKHNUR
DANSAL
NAORANG ABAD
SARUNSAR LAKE
RAMNAGAR
MANAOR
NAGROTA
JAMMU
KHARIANA
KOTH
KARIANWALA
BAHU
MANSAROVAR LAKE
DAOLTA NAGAR
CHAPRAR
RAMKOT
SAMARTA
BALAOR
BHADDU
JALALPUR
BISHNATH
SAMBA
BASOHLI
CHAMBA
KALOWAL
RAJPUR
LAKHANPUR
GUJRAT
SAIDGARH
KATHUA
MADHOPUR
SIALKOT
NURPUR
PATHANKOT
GUJRANWALA
PHALORA
ZAFARWAL
SHAKARGARH
DHAMTAL
NAINA KOT
MANDIKHE
BODE
MIRTHAL
GURDASPUR
JAMMU KINGDOM
AT ITS APPEX UNDER
MAHARAJA RANJIT DEY
A.D. 1733-1782
Present boundary of Jammu
Ranjit Dev's Kingdom
20 10 0 20 30
75°
76°
32
33



Chiefs of Jammu-Kangra States resumed their independence and recovered the tracts of which they had been deprived by the Mughals.[6] In A.D. 1758 Raja Ghammand Chand Katoch of Kangra was appointed by Ahmad Shah Durani to the office of governor of the Jalandhar Doab, and of the hills between the Sutlej and the Ravi. The Rajas of Jammu and Chamba seem also to have enjoyed the favour of the Durrani king, as is shown by *Sanadas* and letters still in possession of the families. Meanwhile the Kangra fort was still held by the last of the Mughal Officers, named Saif Ali Khan, who continued to correspond directly with Delhi.[7] Towards the south, in the Panjab plains, the Sikh marauding bands were organising themselves into something like political bands called the Misls. Such was the political background against which Ranjit Dev's picture as a political personality has to be drawn.

Accession and Early Career :

Ranjit Dev's accession to the '*gaddi*' of Jammu and his early life has been differently described by historians. His date of accession is equally uncertain. Diwan Kirpa Ram gives no date of the death of Dhruv Dev, nor of the accession of Ranjit Dev. He simply states that Dhruv Dev came to the throne of Jammu in Bikrami[8] 1780, corresponding to about 1703 A.D., and ruled for twenty-two years[9] and was succeeded by Ranjit Dev, the eldest of his four sons. Thus according to his information Dhruv Dev died in 1725 A.D. when Ranjit Dev succeeded him on the '*gaddi*' But other authorities have given different dates of Ranjit Dev's accession.

Shahamat Ali writing in 1839, says : "He succeeded in 1730, and ruled for fifty-four years.[10] The authors of the *History of Punjab Hill States* are of the opinion that Ranjit Dev came to the throne in A.D. 1735.[11] G.C. Smyth[12] pushes the date even further and records that "Ranjeet Dehu was born about the year 1724, and was but a lad of eighteen, when his father, Raja Drape Dehu, died in 1742."

Rajdarshani the Persian chronicle of the old rulers of Jammu, records accurate, but not necessarily correct, dates. According to this work Dhruv Dev ruled from the beginning of the accession of Bahadur Shah to the 9th year of Muhammad Shah's reign, a total span of 22 years, and died on the 4 Katik, 1781 Bikrami or 1140 Hijri.[13] This

6. Latif, S.M., *History of the Paujab.* p. 301.
7. Hutchison and Vogal, *H.P..H,S* p. 79; Dr. Gupta, H.R., *History of the Sikhs,* Vol. III, p. 26.
8. Diwan Kirpa Ram : *Gulab.*, p. 70.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Shahamat Ali : T*he Sikhs & Afghans,* p. 80.
11. Hutchison & Vogel : *H.P.H.S.* p. 540. W.G. Archer supports this date when he brackets Ranjit Dev's reign, 1735 to 1781. See *Indian Paintings in the Punjab Hills,* 1952, p. 45.
12. G.C. Smyth : *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore,* p. 240.
13. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshoni,* SPM., folio.

obviously accurate calculation adds yet more to the confusion. The Samvat year given corresponds to 16th October 1724, whereas the Hijri year corresponds to 1727 A.D. There is yet another anamoly in the date of accession of Ranjit Dev immediately given after the above date.

All the three manuscripts of *Rajdarshani* give Rabi-ul-Awwal, H.E. 1140 and 17 Baisakh, S. 1781[14] corresponding to 29 April, 1724 A.D., which makes the event take place some six months before Dhruv Dev's death, which is quite wrong. The ninth year of Mohammad Shah's reign (acc 1719 A.D.) falls in 1727. Bahadur Shah I ascended the throne of Delhi in 1707, and adding 22 to this year we get 1729 as the year of Dhruv Dev's death. Obviously the dates given here in the *Rajdarshani*, make the matter more confounded.

These confusing and self contradictory statements lead us no where. There is, however, one documentary record in the State Archives Repository, Jammu, which is in the form of a '*Patta*'[15] by Muhammad Shah, Emperor of Delhi, in favour of Raja 'Drup Dev Singh' confirming him as Raja of Jammu on special conditions and payment of *Nazrana* by him and Rajas Ranjit Dev and Gujral Dev (probably Ghansar Dev, second son of Dhruv Dev) as Rajas of the Dogra *Ilaqa*.

The '*Patta*', dated 13th Zilqadah, 1144 Hijri, correspoading to about A.D. 1732, is a clear evidence that Dhruv Dev was living at least in 1732 A.D., and that time his sons Ranjit Dev and Gujral (or Ghansar) Dev were grown enough to be recognised as associate rulers of the Dogra *Ilaqa*. We cannot possibly question the fact of Dhruv Dev's ruling at least till 1732. Now we can arrive at a fairly accurate and dependable date of Ranjit Dev's accession by reconciling the fact of his release from internment for twelve years, The release was affected in 1745 A.D., probably in the month of April that year.

Ranjit Dev's Internment :

Stray references to events of Dhruv Dev's reign reveal that Basohli and Jasrota had already been made tributary to Jammu and the ruler of Jammu tried to arbitrate in the affairs of Bhadarwah, Chamba and Nurpur. Thus Dhruv Dev had extended his sway upto the Ravi in the east. To this kingdom Ranjit Dev succeeded. Immediately after his accession, he started on the path of westward expansion and conquered the country as far as the present Ranjitgarh, where he built a temporary mad fort to mark his boundary to the south-west. Sometimes he even surprised and plundered the town of Sialkot, and over-ran the country on the west of the Chenab as far as Gujrat. He even attacked the forts of Koolowal, Kotli, Minawar, Bajwath, and almost put a stop to the

14. The three versions of *Rajdarshani*, one in British Museum and the other in India Office Library in London, and the third at SPS Museum, Srinagar.
15. *File No. 1, Persian Records*,- SAR (J). Mughal Emperor Mohammad Shah ruled at Delhi from 1719 to 1748
16. See ante.

communications between Kashmir and Lahore.[17] Such activities of Ranjit Dev and "his three brothers" might have offended the young Mughal Governor of Lahore, Zakariya Khan, who feined reconciliation towards the rising Hill Chief and sent promises and invitations to him to visit the Lahore Court.[18] The ambitious Chief, however, was reluctant to respond to these invitations. Consequently, on the report of "his disloyal attitude reaching the Emperor's ears" an order for his arrest was probably issued and the Governor proceeded personally to carry it out.[19]

The dispossessed Bahuwal Chiefs too seem to have been instrumental in this affair. Taking advantage of Mughal suspicions about Ranjit Dev's political motives, Ugar Dev, the chief of the Bahuwal clan poisoned the ears of the Mughal Governor of Lahore, and this might have precipitated matters. G.C. Smyth[20] relates that closely pressed by the need of his family feud properly[21] adjusted with the help of the Mughal governor, he went to Lahore, but no sooner had he presented himself at the Court than he was put in irons and kept a prisoner in one of the dungeons within the fort of Lahore for twelve years.[22].

The date and period of this internment are not easy to ascertain. According to one authority[23] the period was from 1748 to 1760 A.D. However it is usually believed[24] that Ranjit Dev was released on the payment of a ransom money, half of which was realised by Zakariya Khan's agent who reached back Lahore when Zakariya had died. As Zakariya died on 1 July 1745, this was probably the year in which Ranjit Dev was set at liberty. During Ranjit Dev's absence Ghansar Dev, the next elder brother, acted as the regent or Rajah of Jammu.[25] He was, however, slightly respected even by his own clan of Jamwals, while his enemies, the Bahuwals, daily gained strength and made several successful attacks on Jammu so that its very existence was at stake. The Jamwal chief ran administration and fought out enemies with the help of Mian Chandan Dev and Mian Surat Singh.[26] The army of Lahore once again tried to occupy Jammu with the help of Ugar Dev of Behu, but Mian Ghansar Dev and his associates intercepted the imperial army at Miran Sahib,

17. Smyth, G.C., p. 242.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *H.P,H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 540. Also see *Rajdarshani*, S.P.S. MS. fol. 195 b, where it is stated that Ranjit Dev was imprisoned for default of arrears of tribute due from his father-*zar-i-Baqia-i-pidr*.
20. Smyth, G.C., p. 243.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Shahamat Ali*, op. cit., p. 82.
25. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*, India Office MS. fol. 87 b ; Smyth, G.C.A, *History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 243 , gives the name as Kousar Dehu.
26. *Gulabnama, op. cit.*, p. 71.

about ten miles to the south of Jammu and routed it after inflicting on it heavy losses. They occupied most of the Bahu territories as well.[27]

The impending Jammu-Bahu struggle therefore became a grim affair and it was thought prudent to seek Ranjit Dev's release from Lahore confinement. Mian Chandan Dev, the commander-in-chief of Jammu armies, approached the Mughal governor of Lahore through Adina Beg, the *Fajudar*, and sought Ranjit Dev's release.[28] This release was facilitated by the shift in political alignment of the Bahuwals. It appears that the Bahu chiefs Komal Dev, Bhoj Dev and Gul Dev had entered into a close allianee with the Sikh chief, Charat Singh, the grand-father of Ranjeet Singh, and by this intrigue they incurred the displeasure of Adina Beg.[29] Ghansar Dev and Chandan Dev seem to have made capital out of this situation and won the sympathy of Adina Beg, the governor of Doab, for their cause by aligning themselves to his interents, and through his intercession got Ranjit Dev released from the Lahore confinement on the payment of a ransom of two lakhs of rupees, and he was sent back to Jammu, accompanied by Hakim Khudabaksh Khan, the ancestor of Faqir Aziz-ud-Din ; and the Hakim after realising one half of the tribute settled on Ranjit Dev, went to Lahore.[30] By the time he reached Lahore, the governor, Zakariya Khan, was dead, and the money was made over to Adina Beg Khan, who kept it.[31] As Zakariya Khan died on 1st July, 1745, this was probably the year in which Ranjit Dev was set at liberty.[32]

Second Confinement : The tradition current in Jammu hills, supported by statements of Shahamat Ali and G.C. Smyth show that Ranjit Dev was probably interned in Lahore for the second time during 1748-49. Shahamat Ali records that soon after the release of Ranjit Dev, Ahmad Shah Durrani invaded India, when the former, who had resisted the invader, fell into the hands of the Afghans and was again sent so Lahore, and confined there.[33] It is probably this second confinement which G.C. Smyth confuses with the first. "In 1747," writes Smyth,[34] "he plundered a Kafila or Caravan, with about 100,000 rupees worth of Pushmeena, going from Cashmere to Lahore for Meer Munnoo (1748-1754 A.D.)." It was for this and other like acts that he was called to the governor's court at Lahore and was imprisoned and thrown in a dungeon.[35]

Hearing of this confinement, and perhaps of the defeat of the

27. Nargis, Narsing Dass, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Desh*, pp. 84-86.
28. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans*. p. 80, Smyth, p 241.
29. Smyth, G.C., *op cit.*, p. 241.
30. Shahamat Ali. *op cit* , p. 81.
31. *H.P.H.S.*, p. 540.
32. Gupta, H.R., *Studies in the Later Mughal History of the Punjab*, p. 64.
33. Shahamat Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
34. G.C. Smyth, *A Hist of Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 243
35. *Ibid.*

Mughals at the hands of the Abdalis, Rattan Deo, Ranjit Dev's commander-in-chief, who had gone for service of the Mughals to the Dekhan, took flight, and reached Jammu and formed a government in collaboration with Ghansar Deo, in the absence of Ranjeet Dev.[36] Stubborn heroic and ambitious as he was, Ranjit Dev might have been confined by Mir Mannu as an ally of the Abdalis. But this detention seems to have been very short. The Abdali Wazir, Shahwali Khan, and the Dogra Raja seemed to have reached an understanding, and the latter was not only set at liberty, but was also honoured with a *Khilat* and was restored to authority with the aid of a large army despatched to assist him in that object.[37] Afterwards we always find Ranjit Dev on the side of the Afghans, who considered him their powerful ally in the Panjab plains and the hills.

THE DURRANI-MUGHAL STRUGGLE AND THE DOGRA ROLE.

His reign was coterminous with the weak successors of Aurangzeb under whom the Mughal Empire had started declining. By 1752 the Punjab had passed into the hands of the Afghans, and the Hill States also came under their suzerainty. But Durrani control over the eastern Hill States was never more than nominal. Encouraged by the anarchy which prevailed in the plains, all the Chiefs resumed their independence and recovered the tracts of which they had been deprived by the Mughals.[38]

After his release from confinement in Lahore, he strengthened his hold on his territories and tried to benefit from the political situtation in the Panjab. The time was also ripe for his ambition. With the decline of the Mughal power and the attendant chaos, the Panjab and the adjoining areas had become victims of marauding hordes and there was no security of life and property. "Lawless men, plunderers and adventurers now peeped out of their holes ..the peace and prosperity given by the just rule of Zakariya Khan were destroyed. The disorder was raging throughout this province even one year, one month and twenty-three days after Zakariya Khan's death in July, 1745.[39] A struggle for governorship of the Panjab between Yahiya Khan and Shahnawas Khan made the matters worse. The latter, on advice of Adina Beg Khan invited Ahmad Shah Durrani to support his cause on condition of "crown to Ahmad Shah and wazirship to Shahnawaz."[40] Hence disturbances cropped up everywhere. The Raja of Jammu, therefore, revolted and stopped paying tribute.[41] He led his troops against the neighbouring chiefs and

36. Shahamat Ali : *The Sikhs and Afghans*, p. 82.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p. 301.
39. Anand Ram, Tazkira-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis, HIED, Vol. VII, pp. 76-78.
40. Tahmas Khan, *Tahmas Nama*, KCA, SHR—1283, p. 40; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
41. Anandram, *op. cit.*, p. 269. ot. Sarkar, J. N. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Calcutta, 1938, Vol. VIII, p. 193.

extended his sway up to the Chenab in the west, and in the plains upto the present borders of the Jummu State towards Sialkot. From now onwards Ranjit Dev had to play a very important as well as an interesting role in the Panjab affairs.

When the Durrani had arrived in Lahore, Wazir Qamarud-Din left Delhi, on January 13, 1748 for Lahore, "Urgent letters were despatched to the Zamindars of Jammu, Lakhi Jungle, etc. to hurry up their troops to join the Imperial army.[42] But how Ranjit Dev responded to this call is not known. However, we note that the Durrani invader had occupied Lahore on 12 January, 1748[43], and stayed there for five weeks. "During this period the Rajas of Jammu, Bahu and other northern hills sent their Vakils with petitions of submission."[44] This politic approach of Ranjit Dev and his vassal Raja of Bahu was in anticipation of Durrani success which however, could not be achieved by Ahmad Shah in 1748.

Durrani was more fortunate in his second invasion when he succeeded in getting the "Chahar Mahal[5]—Sialkot, Aurangabad, Gujrat and Pasrur, which, as J.N. Sarkar puts it, formed "in time of need a strong flank against the hill chiefs of Jammu and Kashmir.[45] Faced with this wedge between his possessions and the Mughal territories the Dogra ruler was not clear with whom he should align, the Afghan or the Mughal. The political uncertainty depened during the following few years and the people and merchants of Punjab and Delhi took shelter in Ranjit Dev's territories. During the Durrani invasion of 1752 Ranjit Dev joined on the side of the governor of the Punjab, Mir Munnu, who was, however, defeated and Ahmad Shah Durrani occupied Lahore in March, 1752.

The Mughal emperor ceded Lahore province to the Durrani invader, thus withdrawing Mughal occupation of the Punjab. Ahmad Shah Durrani decided on the occupation of Kashmir. Consequently he despatched a strong detachment under Abdullah Khan who easily made his way through with the help of Ranjit Dev, to the capital of Kashmir, ousted the nominee of the Mughal Emperor there and established his own authority. Ahmad Shah appointed Diwan Sukhjiwan Mal the governor of Kashmir,[46] By now Ranjit Dev seems to have realised the inevitable

42. Anand Ram, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-55 ; Ali-ud-Din, *Ibtat Nama*, MS. KCA., fol. 106 b.

43. Sohan Lal ; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, Arya Press, Lahore, 1885, p. 123 ; Ansndram Mukhlis : *Tarikh-i-Anandram*, MS in KCA, p. 261.

44. Ganda Singh, Dr. *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay (1959), p. 52.

45. Gupta, Dr. H. R. : *A Hist. of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, 1739-68, Calcutta, 1939, p. 74.

46. Tahmas Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-79 ; Ghulam Azad Bitgrami. *Khazana-i. Amira* (1762), Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpore, 1900, p. 114 ; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* pp. 83-85, 91-95 ; Sohan Lal, *op. cit.*, Vol I, pp 132-35 ; Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhau*, or *Kitab-i-Tawarikh-i-Panjab*, MS. KCA, pp. 85-88 ; Kirpa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, Kohinoor Press, Lahore, 1870, pp. 230-32 ; Narayan Kaul, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* MS. Research Dept., Srinagar, fol. 183a-184 b ; H. R. Gupta, *A Hist, of the Sikhs, Vol.* I, op. cit., p. 77.

downfall of Mughal rule in the Panjab. He, therefore, in consideration of his people's interest sided with the person in possession of Lahore. When Ahmad Shah retired to his country, Adina Beg helped by Ranjit Dev and other Hill chiefs, gathered force and pressed hard Khwaja Abdullah Khan and the Mughlani Begum, the representatives of the Durrani, in October, 1756.

These political activities brought Ahmad Shah Durrani to Lahore in December 1756. It was reported particularly to Ahmad Shah at Lahore that Raja Ranjit Dev had prepared himself for war against the Afghans and had retired from Lahore only when they found themselves incapable of resisting them. The Durrani, therefore, ordered an army of 10,000 to proceed against him. Ranjit Dev offered no resistance.[47] He quietly submitted and made friends with the Durrani who welcomed this step, since the more pressing problem for him was the Sikh menace. In order to drive out the Sikhs from their hill fastness where they had taken refuge, and to secure regular help from Ranjit Dev for his governor, the Durrani confirmed his alliance with the Raja of Jammu by a gift of the three Shahi *parganas* of Zafarwal, Sankhatra and Aurangabad which later he bestowed on him permanently.[48] When Adina Beg was supreme in the Punjab, he also solicited Ranjit Dev's help, and when after Adina Beg's death in November, 1758, Ahmad Shah invaded the Punjab once again, he marched through the hills in order to secure the aid of his ally Raja Ranjit Dev.[49]

KASHMIR AFFAIRS.

By June 1762 Ahmad Shah was free from the troubles in the Punjab, and now he decided to reconquer Kashmir where his governor Sukhjiwan Mal had revolted and declared independence. He deputed Shah Wali Khan, his viceroy of Lahore, to take proper action in the affair. The latter sought the help of the Dogra Chief, invited him to Lahore through the sons of the Durrani minister and bewtowed on him a rich dress of honour. Ranjit Dev agreed to co-operate. He despatched his eldest son Brajraj Dev along with Mian Rattan Dev, the chief Commander, via Banihal. The Afghan force under Nurud-Din Bamezei proceeded via Rajauri and Punch to chastise Sukhjiwan.[50]

It seems probable that the Afghans had to lead two expeditions against Sukhjiwan. The first one was sent under the personal guidance of Raja Ranjit Dev, with 3 or 4 thousand Durrani troops. Ranjit Dev's

47. Sarkar, J.N., *Fall of the Mughal Empire. op, cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 62, 82 *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, Elliot, Vol. VIII, pp. 140-143.

48. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami ; *Khazaua-i-Amira*, Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpur (1762), p. 100 ; *Sialkot Dist. Gazet.*, p 16 ; Dr. H.R. Gapta : *A Hist. of the Sikhs op. cit* Vol. I p. 105 ;
Ganda Singh : *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, p. 189 ; Tahmas Khan, *op. cit.*, 66a-70a ; *Keazana-i-Amira, op. c t.*, p. 101.

49. Qudratullah, *Jam-i Jahan Numa*, vol. II, pp. 120-21 ; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 598.

50. Ali-ud-Din, *Ibrat-Namah*, 268-9 ; *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, 920; *Gulabnama*, 78.

contingent started in June, but found all the passes closed by Sukhjiwan and in consequence came back baffled. Another expedition on a larger scale was fitted later on, probably in September after the rainy season.[51] Nurud Din was in charge of this undertaking, and was actively supported by Ranjit Dev's son and his troops. Sukhjiwan, on the other hand, was prepared to meet the advancing force. He had fortified the mountain passes. But inspite of this the combined army of 3 or 4 thousand Afghans and about the same number of Dogras marched into Kashmir through the Tosamaidan pass. A battle was fought at Chera Udar Karewa. Sukhjiwan Mal came to oppose the invaders at the head of a large army but due to the treachery of his commander-in-chief, Bakht Mal, he was easily defeated and captured, blinded by Nurud Din and sent to Lahore where he was trampled down by horses to death, Nurud Din was confirmed in the government of the valley.[52]

In return for this service a Jagir of sixty thousand '*Kharwars*' (donkey—loads) of rice in lieu of one lakh and twenty five thousand rupees in cash, was bestowed on Ranjit Dev in succession by Ahmad Shah in Kashmir.[53]

The villages assigned to Ranjit Dev were in Kutaher *Pargans*, and one of the villages was Brah. The *Kardar* of Brah was one Siva Ram Jalali who used to weigh all the grain for Ranjit Dev. Brijraj Dev, son of Ranjit Dev, used to come over every autumn to take charge of the produce of his father's estate.[54]

In the closing years of his reign, Ranjit Dev had acquired sufficient power to consider seriously the conquest of the Kashmir Valley for himself. The tyrannical rule of the autonomous Afghan governor, Haji

51. Gupta. H. R., *A History of the Sikhs*, III, p. 178.

52. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Khazana-i-Amira*, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16; Ali-ud-Din, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-70; Kirpa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, pp. 232-53; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, *op*, *cit.*, 920; Naryan Kaul, *Tar ikh-i-Kashmir*, MS (1846) Research Department, Srinagar, folios 186 a-187 b.

53. Kirpa Ram, p. 79; Ali-ud-Din, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-70; *Khaza-i-Amira*, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16; Kirpa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-33.

54. Kak, R.C., *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of the Kashmir Darbar*, Reprint, Sagar Publication, New Delhi, 1971, p. 7. Mr. Kak records the tradition that on one of these occasions, when Siva Ram had weighed all the grain that he had to give a peasant came forward and shook the dust of his clothes. This trivial incident was the turning point of his life. He realised the emptiness of the world's reward and the varity of human endeavour. He broke his *qalamdan* there and then and he took himself to the cave of Brari-Maji (Lady Mother) nearby. In a short time he became enlightened, and his former master, Brijraj Deu, on his next annual visit, waited upon him and assigned him an annual pension of 500 *Kharwars* of paddy. This grant was later on confirmed by Jabbar Khan, and, though originally intended as a personal gift to Siva Ram, seems to have afterwards been converted into an endownmeni for the sacred spring near which he lived. *Ibid* pp. 7-8.

Karim Dad Khan, goaded the peace-loving people to seek aid from whichever quarter it could be procured to over-throw him. The disgruntled members of the Kanth family as well as chiefs of the Khakha and Bomba tribes sent secret emissaries to Ranjit Dev promising him active aid in case he attempted an invasion of the Valley. In 1779, while Haji Karim Dad was busy in subjugating Skardu the Jammu Raja launched an attack via Banihal pass with a force of 20,000 soldiers. But Karim Dad's Afghan forces got timely intelligence and ambushing themselves behind the rocks in the side of the Valleys, fell upon the enemy suddenly and with such fury that Ranjit Dev's army had to retreat in grave disorder.[55] The Raja now old and worn out by struggle and family dissensions, could not achieve success across the Pir Panjal Range, as he had done beyond the Ravi and towards the plains.

RANJIT DEV'S TRANS-RAVI EXPEDITIONS AND HIS SUPREMACY IN THE HILLS.

During the following decade the Raja of Jammu attained greater heights of fame and power. His aid was sought on all quarters. His strong hold of Jammu reached the appex of prosperity where men of property and political connection found refuge. He achieved more important conquests on all sides.[56] He had acquired great influence over the Chamba State through the Jamwal princess married to the ruler, and coveted to possess the Chamba territory. In that effort the ruler of Jammu came in conflict with the powerful State of Kangra. The great Katoch chief, Raja Ghammand Chand ascended the throne of Kangra in 1751. He was equally an ambitious ruler. He extended his principality by conquests of neighbouring territories and strengthened his influence in the Kangra hills and assumed so much importance that in 1759, he was appointed *Nazim*, or Governor of the Jullundhar Doab by Ahmad Shah Durrani and thus acquired supremacy over all the hill States of the Jullundhar circle between the Satluj and the Ravi.[37] In the flush of grand designs of a rising chief he annexed Chauki and seized the *taluqa* of Palam from Chamba, taking advantage of the minority of Raj Singh of Chamba, who was only 9 years old at the time of his accession in 1764. He also seized and strengthened the fort of Pathiyar which stood on a lofty ridge not far from Palampur, and drove the Chamba troops out of Bir-Bangahal. This brought the matters to a head. Raja Raj Singh sought the help of Ranjit Dev for the recovery of the lost territory and the conflict of the two rival chiefs became unavoidable.

The court poet of Jammu, Dev Dut, has given an eye witness account of this Dogra expedition against Kangra, in his poem '*Brijraj Panchasika*.' He himself accompanied prince Brijraj Dev, who was sent

55. Prithvi Nath Kaul Bamzai : *A History of Kashmir* (1962), pp, 402-3 Prem Nath Bazaz. *Hist. of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, (1954), 114 Gwasha Lal Kaul : *Kashmir Through the Ages* (1954), p 90.

56. *Jour. of Indian History*, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. III, December 1970.

57. *Kangra Settlement Report*, p. 9.

by Ranjit Dev at the head of a strong Dogra force to aid Raj Singh. The battle seems to have taken place during the year 1766 or 1767. Raj Singh's envoy is reported to have come to the Jammu court to complain against the Katoch aggression and seek Jamwal aid. Raja Azmat Dev Mankotia, Shamsher Chand Hamtal, Amrit Pal of Basohli and Shahpur, who was Ranjit Dev's son-in-law, Raja Rattan Dev Jasrotia, Raja Jai Singh Bandrahl, and Mian Rattan Dev Mandiwala son of Mian Jaswant Singh, accompanied Brajraj Dev. Raja Prithvi Singh of Nurpur also joined their strength at Machhi Bhawan. When Brijraj Dev advanced upto Talab Raja, Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler also came to tender his submission. At Jawala Mukhi, Raja Govind Chand of Datarpur joined Jammu force. Soon Raja Rai Singh of Chamba also joined them with his troops.[58]

On the other side Raja Ghamand Chand came forward to give fight with the help of Raja Abraj Singh Jaswal and collected his men at Kalesar. But as soon as Brajraj Dev had crossed the Bias river at Gopipur Dera ferry, Ghammand Chand fled without any show of arms.[59] Brijraj Dev set fire to the *parganas* of Chanor and Gohasan and plundered Kalesar, and burnt Nadaon to ashes. The Rajas of Kahlur and Mandi came to pay homage. Braj Raj Dev divided the conquered dominions of the Katoch among those Rajas who had helped him and submitted before the Jammu authority. Palam and Pathiar were restored to the Raja of Chamba.[60] Brij Raj Dev established his own *thanaa* in Nadaon.

Raja Ghammand Chand had taken shelter in the territory of his ally Raja Abraj Singh Jaswal. Braj Raj Dev sent that Raja an ultimatum with the result that the Jaswal chief waited upon the conqueror and begged to be forgiven. Thereupon Brijraj Dev bestowed upon him the Parganas of Gopipur and Kot-Lahriyan. Raja Ghammand Chand has been thoroughly isolated. He was left with no other alternative than to submit before Brijraj Dev who treated him courteously and restored him to his possessions.[61] Brijraj Dev also helped Raja Ramsharan of Hindur in getting back his principality from his enemies.

For some time after this victory Ranjit Dev seems to have maintained his paramouut position in the Hill states to the both sides of the Ravi and his Darbar was aborned by the presence of many Rajas of territories of Dugar and Jallandhar realms.[62] Rajas of Chamba and Nupur were related to the royal house of Jammu. Kaja Prithvi Singh who ruled over Nurpur from 1735 to 1789[63] was Ranjit Dev's son-in-law-.[64] But this relationship did not hinder in any way the political

58. *Gulabnama*, p. 74 ; *Brijraj Panchasika.*
59. Hutchison, and Vogel, *Hist. of Punjab Hill States.* Vol. I, p. 176.
60. *Gulabnama*, p. 75.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Gulabnama*, p. 76.
63. *H P.H.S.*, p. 251.
64. *Gulabnama*, p. 76.

ambition of both sides. Raja Prithvi Singh" started resisting the activities of Braj Raj Dev. and speaking unbecoming words about the Jamwal royal house. This offered Ranjit Dev a pretext for another expedition against the Trigarta states, this time against Nurpur. He deputed Braj Raj Dev to chastise Raja Prithvi Singh. The Jammu army, commanded by Braj Raj Dev and Main Rattan Dev, forded the Ravi at Jalala ferry and encamped at Taragarh.

Raja Prithvi Singh of Nurpur also mustered a numerous force composed of many Rajas and Rais of Jalandhar and of the Kanhaiya Sardars particularly Jai Singh Kanhaiya whose help had been sought by special messengers. A bloody and prolonged battle was fought in the territory of Nurpur and Sindhwan. After a tough resistance Raja Prithvi Singh was forced to shut himself up in the fort of Nurpur. Braj Raj Dev stormed the fort aud compelled Prithvi Singh to yield. He was brought to Jammu where "the Maharaja soothed him by dignified favours, and the principality of Nurpur was restored to him.[65] This incident however, finds no mention in the family annals of Nurpur State.

Ranjit Dev had thus humbled his rivals in the Hills and equalled the chiefs in plains. After 1770 his power seems to be at the zenith of his glory." He made successful expeditions into the plains and defeated several petty chieftains round Sialkot, so that in 1778, he held actual sway over the entire country from Jasrota to Kuluwai on the Chenab and from Roras to Mandikhel in Gurdaspur.[66] Among those who submitted to Ranjit Dev's authority were Mians Sujan Sin h and Mihar Singh, Rajah of Chaneni ; Bahadur Singh Raja of Humtal and Qiramchi, Daya Pal, Raja of Basohli; Raj Singh, Raja of Bandralta ; Raja Rattan Dev of Jasrota ; Dalel Singh and Acchhar Singh Raja of Mankot, Rana of Marmahti and Khassals; and *Rayan* or chiefs of Dang-Fatal; Prithvi Singh. Raja of Nurpur; Raja Karam-Ullah, wali of Rajouri, chiefs of Punch and Narwah; Asalat Khan and Nain Khan, Rajas of Bhimbar; Diwan Ghulam Ali and Haidar Ali, the Rajas of Mirpur and Chumak; Hassan Khan Malkana, and Rajas of Khari and Khariali.[67]

CIVIL WAR, 1774-75

Ranjit Dev's growing power and prostige was somewhat eclipsed in the last decade of his reign because of the rebellion of his elder son, Brijraj Dev, which offered his enemies and rivals an opportunity to belittle his political stature. The later years of his life from 1760 onward. were. therefore, clouded by dissensions in his family because of "misunderstanding" between himself and the heir-apparent, allegedly arising out of the dissipated character of the latter,[69] Ranjit Dev had

65. *Ibtd.* p. 78.
66. Cunningham, W.B., *Dogras*, p. 15.
67. *Galabnama*, p. 80.
68. *Archer, W.G., Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, Delhi, 1973*' p. 180.
69. Prinsep, Sir Henry Thoby, *History of the Punjab*; 2 vols. London; Allen & Co., 1846, i, pp. 237-40. Cf. Latif, *History of the Panjab, opcit.*, pp. 298 and 339.

desired to deprive him of the right of succession in favour of the younger son, Mian Dalel Dev, in order to save the kingdom from falling into his unworthy hands.[70] 'The heir-apparent was of dissolute character and the father a man of great ability and sound judgement'[71] and so he would not patronise evil. The fact that Dalel Dev was a half-brother of Brijraj, roused the latter to natural enmity and he decided to safeguard his rights. The quarrel became inevitable and civil war loomed large.

In order to assure his hereditary rights, Brijraj Dev decided to assert himself. He had commanded his father's forces on several expeditions, he therefore succeeded in winning over a part of it to his cause and fomented disturbance. The whole hill region was thus exciteed by his "unnatural rebellion" against his father. "The naw youth not realising the consequences,"[72] applied to Charat Singh, offering a large yearly tribute in return of his aid in deposing his father.[73] He also sought aid of Jai Singh Kanhaya. Both of these readily assented. Charat Singh, the Suker Chakiya chief who particularly "entertained an old feeling of enmity against Ranjit Dev,"[74] welcomed the opportunity for plunder and revenge and joined Brijraj in his designs of deposing his father, The united forces of the Sukarchakiya and Kanhia chiefs, strengthened by the addition of men of Brijraj Dev, marched into the Jammu territory and encamped on the Basantar river, east of Jammu, opposite Samba.

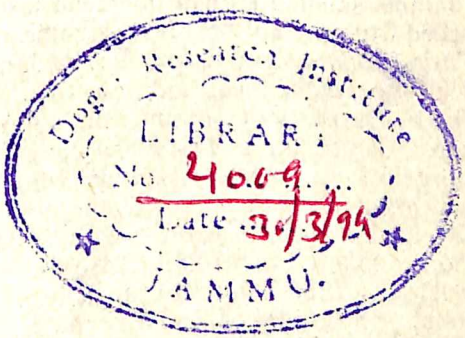
Ranjit Dev had timely warning and collected a force to oppose the invasion. This was formed of his own troops and auxliaries from Chamba, Nurpur, Bushahr and Kangra, in addition to the force of the Bhangi chief Jhanda Singh.[75] The two armies lay encamped on the opposite sides of the Basantar river near the village, Daso Hara. An act on was fought near the village Oodhu Chak on the same river opposite Zafarwal, some thirty miles to the south-east of Jammu. The fighting was carried on for several days without any decisive result[76], till one day in one of the skirmishes, Charat Singh was killed by accidental burst of his matchlok.[77] Consequently it seemed that the Bhangis would win.

70. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *Histotv of the Panjab, op. cit.*, p. 339 ; Prithvi Nath Kaul Balmzai *A History of Kashmir. political, social, cultural*, Delhi, 1962, p. 589.
71. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Hist af the Sikhs, op. cii.*, iii. 35-36.
72. Gupta Hari Ram, *History of thu sikhs' op. cit.*, iii, pp, 35-36.
73. Prinsep, Sir Henry Thoby, *Origin of the Sikh power in the Panjab*, Calcutta, 1834 (Reprint, Patiala, 1970), p. 30
74. Hutchison, J. and Jean Phjllippe Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 544.
75. *Ibid.*
76. Latif, Syad Mohammad, *History of the Pujnab*, op. cit., pp. 298-390.
77. Gupta, Hari Ram, *The History of the Sikhs*, op. cit. iii, 35; Hutchison and Vogel, op., cit., il. 545, see also Hugel, *Travels*, 273, W. L. Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, i, 150; Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power*, op. cit., 31n; H. M. Lawrence, *Some Passages etc*; p. 66.

Thereupon Jai Singh Kanhiya got the Bhangi chief treacherously murdered[78]. Another authority, Khushwaqt Rai, states that Charat Singh was killed at Udhu Chak on the Basantar river, after the two armies had been six months encamped on opposite sides of the stream.[79]

The new Bhangi Chief, Ganda Singh, retired from the battle-field and the Sukarchakias and Kanhiyas also abandoned the enterprise. Thus Ranjit Dev and his son were left to settle their quarrel between themselves. But before leaving Jammu, Maha Singh resorted to a diplomatic trick. He anticipated accession of Brajraj Dev to Jammu Raj in due course. He therefore, changed turbans with Brijraj Dev which made them brothers for life. But Mahan Singh was not honest to the pledge[80] and took the first opportunity to plunder Jammu on Ranjit Dev's death.

The rebellian of Brijraj Dev and the war of succession took place during 1774. Although Ranjit Dev was handicapped by these dissensions in his own family and was hard pressed by Sikh incursions, he could maintain his supremacy over the twenty two hill states lying between the Ravi and the Jehlum. He successfully pushed back the tide of Sikh invasions. He seems to have learnt to play one Sikh chief against the other and thus keep them busy away from his borders.



78. Gupta Hari Ram, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 35,
79. Prinsep, Sir Henry Thoby, *Origin of Sikh Power*, *op. cit.*, 31n.
80. *Jassa Singh Binod*, p. 200, Gian Singh Giani, *Tawarikh-I-Gutu Khalsa* (Urdu), Amritsar, iii, p: 954; S.M. Latif, *History of the Panjab*, op. cit., pp. 339-340 ; Griffin, *Panjab Chiefs*. pp. 316-17.

APPENDIX

Jamwal-Bahuwal Struggle

The rivalry of the Jammu and Bahu clans of the ruling houses was once again revived during the early part of Ranjit Dev's reign. The Bahuwals seem to have been encouraged to revive their claim to a separate principality during the internment of Ranjit Dev when uncertainty and lawlessness prevailved in the Dogra State and Jammu seemed to have fallen prey to mutual dissensions and discord resulting in weakening of the central authority.

As narrated earlier, the fort of Bahu had been for some time the seat of a separate principality ruled by a line of a princes belonging to the same family to which Ranjit Dev belonged. The division of Jammu Raj had occured in about 1560 who Raja Kapur Dev (c. 1540—c. 1560) had given to his one son, Jag Dev, the fort of Buhu, and Samail Dev, the other son, the citadel of Jammu. During the rule of Jag Dev's successor, Parasram Dev, there was an intermittent warfare with Jammu. Parasram Dev was followed in Bahu by Krishan Dev (c. 1610—c. 1635), Azamat Dev (e. 1635-1660) aud Kirpal Dev (1660—1690). This "Kirpal Dev of Jammu" combined with rulers of Chamba, Basohli and Guler against the Mughal Viceroy of the Punjab. On Jammu sending Pathan mercenaries the Viceroy was defeated and expelled from the Hills.[1] It is significant to note that *Akbarnama* and *Ma'asirul-Umara* write Kirpal Dev of Jammu and not of Bahu, a fact which supports the local tradition that the Bahu principality was subverted by Hari Dev of Jammu, contemporary of Kirpal Dev of Bahu. According to tradition Raja Hari Dev reunited the two parts. He was a favourite of Aurangzeb Alamgir whom he had accompained on an expedition to Deccan and died there.[2] Probably it was on account of the Mughal Emperor's good will that Bahu principality was subordinated to Jammu and the ruling house was invited to live at Jammu. The descendants of the Bahuwal branch were, however allowed to retain the title and prerogatives of Raja which they did even upto the reign of Dhruv Dev (1707—33). Kirpal Dev has been in several portraits written as 'Maharaja' and 'Shri Raja' Karan Kirpal De Jamwal.[3]

Even Dhruv Dev's contemporary Anand or Nand Dev has been styled as "Raja of Jammu."[4] The fact that the Bahu branch continued

1. *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 538
2. Charak, S.D.S., *Gulabnama*, Eng, trans., p. 25.
3. *Seattle Art Museum' Seattle*, Washington.
4. Archer, W.G., *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills.*, I p, 177.

to live in Jammu State and was allowed to retain the title of Raja even after its re-unification, suggests that the rise to power of the Jammu line was effected by diplomacy rather than by force[5] and the two rival branches seem to have been reconciled to their subordinate position at Jammu.[6] But it seems probable that the Jammu Bahu struggle had once again been revived by Anant Dev Bahuwal's descendant Ugar Dev, who took advantage of the renewal of hostilities between the Jammu State and the Muslim rulers on the accession of Ranjit Dev[7] in 1733. In the struggle Ugar Dev sided with the Muslim rulers against Ranjit Dev and thereby revived his claims on Bahu for some time.[8] Taking advantage of the Mughal suspicions about Ranjit Dev's political activities, Ugar Dev poisoned the ears of the Mughal Viceroy of Lahore against Ranjit Dev, and the Viceroy, out of the vindictiveness ordered him to proceed to the Deccan with Mughal armies. Ranjit Dev suspecting treachery, refused to comply with the orders. This became one of the reasons of Ranjit Dev's internmənt for twelve years.[9]

During the captivity of Ranjit Dev, the government of Jammu was run by Ghansar Dev in collaboration with Mians Surat Singh and Rattan Dev. The Viceroy of Lahore had sent an army to occupy Jammu with the help of Ugar Dev. But the three Jamwal chiefs defeated the imperial forces at Miran Sahib, some ten miles to the South of Jammu and repulsed them after inflicting heavy losses, and Jamwals occupied most of the Bahute rritories as well,[10] However, the rivalry continued and the internecine struggle became a grim affair so that the Jamwal clan had to purchase the release of Ranjit Dev through the efforts of Mian Chandan Dev.

But the struggle did not cease with the release of Ranjit Dev. It took more time to resolve the enmity and Ranjit Dev seems to have suffered much because of this rivalry before he could finally strengthen his hold on the ancestral throne of Jammu. Pressed by his Bahuwal rivals he is said to have retired to the Bhimag region situated in the Trikuta region. At last with the aid of troops raised in these mountains and from Jammu, he defeated Ugar Dev of Bahu, who fled towards Lahore. His territory was occupied and given over to Mian Ghansar Dev as Jagir. But on the intervention of the Mughal governor of Lahore, Ugar Dev was restored to his principality of Bahu as a vassal of Ranjit Dev. Mian Ghansar Dev was then transferred to the jagir of Bhalwalta[11] (Udhampur).

5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *H P.H,S.*, II, pp. 537—40,
8. Nargis, Narsing Dass, *Torikh-i-Dogra Des*, pp. 82-84.
9. *Gulabnama*, p. 711.
10. Nargis, Narsing Dass, *op. cit ;* pp. 84—86.
11. *Ibid.* pp. 85-86.

But the Bahuwal chiefs Komal Dev, Bhoj Dev and Gul Dev alienated the symaphy of Mughal governor, Adina Beg Khan, by taking the side of the Sikh chief Charat Singh.[12] Ranjit Dev took advantage of this situation and fully smashed and uprooted the Bahuwals and annexed their territories and jagirs to his possessions. He, however, accepted them as his subordinate subjects and allotted them residences in his capital where they lived in complete accord with the rulers of Jammu afterwards. The Jammu-Bahu conflict thus came to a close but not without adversely affecting the position and power of Jammu. At least it considerably delayed the process of unification and consolidation of Jammu Raj under Ranjit Dev by inviting Sikh interference in the support of Bahuwal Chiefs. This disunity also served interests of Mughal rulers who played the one faction against the other and succeeded in this way in keeping under heels the Dogra rulers who had usually defied the Mughal authority since the days of Akbar. However, Ranjit Dev's diplomatic and strategic manoeuvering of the affairs ultimately weeded out discord from the soil of Jammu and enabled it to become the premiere State in the Jammu-Kangra Hills.

12. Smyth, G.C., *op. cit.*, p. 241.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Grandeur Of The Dogra Raj

FOREIGN RELATIONS

(A) *(i)* **Jasorta** : Jammu under Ranjit Dev had become the largest State in all northern Hills. It claimed supremacy over a large number of principalities situated not only between the Ravi and the Chenab but also over regions lying to the other side of these rivers. When the Mughal Empire was being attacked from the north by the Afghans and Sikhs, and from the south by the Marathas and Jats a great part of the Siwalik hills came nominally under the control of the Durrani Kings of Kabui. During this period of confusion, the smaller principalities in the Dugar country had become subject either to Ranjit Dev or Raja Kripal Dev of Jasrota[1]. Ranjit Dev made a bid to obtain supreme power in whole of the Dugar country. When manoeuvre was being made from Delhi with a view to extorting tribute from the hill Rajas, he urged Raja Kripal Dev to come to Jammu, so that they might consult together for furthering their mutual interests. Having secured his rival's person he kept him prisoner and obtained permission to appropriate his dominions by acknowledging his own vassalage to Delhi[2]. It seems that Raja Kirpal Dev might have asserted his equality with Jammu on this occasion for which he seems to nave been chastised.

Jasrota's subjection to Jammu is quite evident from the constant subordinate part its rulers played to Jammu, at least from the reign of Dhruv. The assignments of jagirs to Ranjit Dev's younger brothers and their occasional residence at Jasrota strongly support the fact that this state had remained for a longer part of its history an apendage of Jammu. When Ranjit Dev returned from exile in 1745, his younger brother Ghansar Dev, who had acted as regent in his absence "temporarily withdrew to Jasrota without meeting Ranjit Dev[3]". The second brother of Ranjit Dev, Balwant Singh, had also been provided with a "small establishment",[4] i.e., some small estate at Jasrota. Raja Rattan Dev (1766—1780) of Jasrota had accompanied Brijraj Dev as

1. Charak, Sukhdev Singh, 'Raja-i-Rajgan' Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu," *Jour. of Ind. Hist., Vol. XLVIII*, Pt. 3 December 1970, Sr. No. 144, p. 524.
2. Cunningham, Col. W.B. ? *'Dogras'* 1935, p. 178.
3. Archer, W.G., *Indian painting from the Punjab Hills*, Vol. I p. 178.
4. *Ibid.*

his commander, when the latter attacked Ghammand Chand of Kangra in support of Raj Singh of Chamba[5].

In fact, Jammu had a special relationship with Jasrota and this was further strengthened during the eighteenth century, when Jammu re-emerged as the paramount power in the Hills. Jammu princes, Ghansar Dev and Balwant Singh appear to have built their residential mansions there. Jasrota nobles, for their part, were attendants at the Jammu Court and may also, at times, have held office in the Jammu administration as *Wazirs* and *Diwans*[6].

(*ii*) **Chamba :**

Ranjit Dev's direct control extended over Chamba, Nurpur, Kangra and Guler ; while distant States like Mandi, Bilaspur and Bashahr were brought within his sphere of influence. The rulers of Jammu had for some time past, claimed suzerainty over Chamba, and as stated above, the fugitive claimants to the "*gaddi*" of that principality found ready shelter at Jammu. When Udai Singh (1690—1720) was restored to power after a month's regency of his cousin Uggar Singh, the latter had taken refuge at Jammu in disguise. Shortly afterwards intelligence of the assassination of Udai Singh and his brother was received, and Raja Dhruv Dev then furnished Uggar Singh with all necessary assistance, and sent him back to Chamba where he was installed as raja[7], in 1720 A.D. obviously under the suzerainty of Jammu.

Another prince of Chamba, Dalel Singh, also found a congenial residence in Jammu territory. Uggar Singh's suspicions had been aroused against Dalel Singh, and he was called to Lahore and kept in confinement by the Mughal governor at the former's request[8]. It was probably in retaliation of this imprudent act of Uggar Singh that the ruler of Jammu encouraged his vassal Raja Medini Pal of Basohli to invade Chamba, defeat Uggar Singh and re-annex the two *parganas* of Jundh and Bhalai. This led to his downfall. The officials of Chamba purchased the release of Dalel Singh and made him raja in A.D. 1735. Uggar Singh then fled to Kangra. But later on Dalel Singh was induced to make over the throne to Uggar Singh's son, Ummed Singh, to whom a princess of Jasrota was married. Their son, Raj Singh, succeeded his father to the *gaddi* of Chamba, in A.D. 1764.

Raj Singh was only nine years old at the time of his father's death. Ranjit Dev therefore seems to have acted as his guardian and ran the administration of Chamba through officers appointed by

5. Narsing Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des* (Nrdu), Jammu, 1967, p. 215,
6. Archer W.G., *Op. Cit*, Vol. I, p. 215.
7. Charak, S.D.S. : *Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom*, p. 28.
8. *Ibid.*

him. For about ten years the sway of Jammu over Chambn seems to have been unchallenged, and Ranjit Dev took keen interest in the affairs of that principality[9].

Taking advantage of Raj Singh's minority, Raja Ghammand Chand of Kangra seized the fort of Pathiyar, and drove the Chamba troops out of Bir Bangahal, but the queen regent, who was a Jammu princess, obtained help from Ranjit Dev and recovered the lost territory. According to *Gulabnma*[10] Ghammand Chand submitted to Ranjit Dev and sent his son to Jammu to do homage.

Raj Singh seems to have taken advantage of the Jammu family feud, which probably coincided with the attainment of majority by him and the death of the queen mother and had shown his resentment[11] against the dominace of Jammu by imprisoning Aklu, one of Ranjit Dev's officials in Chamba, and throwing off allegiance in about 1774. Ranjit Dev, indignant at this wanton insult, called upon his vassal, Amrit Pal of Basohli, to teach the Raja of Chamba a lesson. The Dogra army over-ran the northern parts of the State called Churah, and is even believed to have seized and held the capital for three months. On this occasion Amritpal issued a copper-plate deed, bearing a date corresponding to the 5th May, 1774[12].

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9. This fact is fully corroborated by a Persian '*Sanad*' issued by Ahmedshah Durrani to Raja Ummed Singh of Chamba in A H. 1175 (A,D. 1762) containing a conferment of the Jagir of Parhiyar on the recommendation of "the faitnful, sincere, wealthy, Mighty and loyal, *Raja-i-Raja-ha Raja* Ranjit Dev, the Raja of Jammu" Cf. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba *Persian documeut. No. III.*

This *sanad* is of great interest as it was issued by Ahmed Shah Durrani on the occasion of his sixth invasion of the Punjab and a few montns after his victory over the Sikhs at Kot Rahira near Ludhiana in February 1762. From the manner in which Ranjit Dev is mentioned in the present document it may be inferred that he stood in high favour with the king of Kabul. It was on his representation and on account of his relationship with Ummed Singh of Chamba that the latter was confirmed as Jagirdar of Pathiyar. (Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue B S M.*, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 56-57). This event also reveals the exient of influence and authority Ranjit Dev exercised over Chamba and the Dogra-Kangra hills. When Ahmed Shah Durrani was finally defeated by the Sikh misls in 1767 and his suzerainty was withdrawn from thesc hills. Ranjit Dev seems to have become their overlord.

10. *Gulab,* Eng. Tr., pp. 32 ff.

11. Ranjit Dev seems to have interfered a great deal in Chamba affairs during the minority of Raj Singh. He had established a sort of guardianship over Chamba, and taking advantage of the minority of Raj Singh and his relationship with the queen-mother, he had appointed Aklu, one of his officials the chief Minister of the State (Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, *Hist of the Sikhs*, Vol. III, Lahore, 1944, p. 22 ; *H.P.H.S.*, vol. I, p. 315). While the queen-mother lived things remained quiet, but she died soon after Raj Singh came of age, and her influence being withdrawn the young prince who disliked Aklu, and probably suspected secrct designs against the State, had him seized and thrown into prison.

12. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, Lahore. 1944, Vol III, p. 23.

Raj Singh, however, managed to escape to Kalanaur in Gurdaspur district, and sought assistance from Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, who readily assented[43]. The combined forces of the Sikhs and Chamba expelled the Basohli chief. Raj Singh paid to the Sikhs one lakb of rupees, becamc a tributary to Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and thus saved his territory from usurpation by Ranjit Dev[14]. Raj Singh, apprehensive of retaliation from Jammu, probably established his new alliance with the Sikhs against Jammu.

However, Sikh ascendency over Chamba was short-lived. Jassa Singh Ramgarhia was defeated in A.D. 1776 by Jai Singh Kanheya and Chamba seems to have transferred its allegiance to the latter. But the course of later events shows that Ranjit Dev had, after re-establishing his prestige in the hills and plains after the civil war of 1774 A.D., revived his suzerainty on the states east of the Ravi. Amrit Pal had re-asserted the claim of Basohli on the districts of Bhalai and Jundh with the help of Ranjit Dev and seized the territory. On death of Ranjit Dev, his son and successor, acting as lord paramount, restored these *paragans* to Chamba, along with those of Bhandal, Kihar and Diyar which had evidently remained in the hands of Basohli since the invasions of 1774[15]. This restoration was granted on condition of service, and could be effected only through an invasion on the state, and its territory was seized by force. From all this it is evident that at that period both Basohli and Chamba regarded Jammu as their suzerain[16].

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13. Forster, George, *A Jouruey from Bengal to England*, London, 1798, 2 Vols., (rep. Patiala 1970). Vol. I, p.2 70.

14. In an undated letter, obviously written to the Sikhs after this event, Raj Singh represents that "as he had placed himself under the protection of the Khalsa he is hopeful of greater favours." (B. S. M., Chamba, *Document No. 20*). He particularly emphasised. "If Dugar (i. e. Jammu) causes any trouble he will inflict due punishment and defend his country in such a way that the world will be astonished." (*Ibid.*)

15. The *Takari* letter from Brijraj Dev conveying the territory to Chamba is still extant, and is dated 15th, Bhadon Samvat '57, which may correspond to 1782-1783. In another *Takari* document from the same source, dated 18th, Bhadon Sastra '59 (1983—84)—H.P.H.S., Vol. II. p. 610—we find the same statement repeated. The meaning of these documents evidently is, that on Ranjit Dev's dearh (who had been on good terms with Raj Singh) Raj Singh of Chamba applied to his successor, which was granted on condition of service ; *cee B.S.M.*, by J. Ph. Vogel, Calcutta, 1909, p. 70, *documents No. c—25, c –30, c—31.* The first letter in *Takari* is from Raja Brajraj Dev of Jammu to Raja Raj Singh conveying to him the *pargans* of Jundh, Bhalai, Bhandal, Kihar and Diur on certain conditions of service ; dated the 15th of Bhadon, Sastra 57. No. c—31. is a *sanad* in *Takari* from Raja Brijraj Dev of Jammu fo Raja Raj Singh of Chamba restoring the above-mentioned *pargans* as naving always heen of right Chamba territory, deted 18th, Bhadon of the Sastr year '59 (A.D. 1783). This letter was evidently an immediate result of the conquest of Basohli by Raj Singh who took place in A.D. 1783 cf. Forster, *A Journey*, etc. Vil. I, p. 270.

16. *H.P H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 610.

(iii) Kangra :

The nature of Ranjit Dev's relations with Kangra cannot be conclusively ascertained in the light of the scanty information available on the subject. It is however believed that the rulers of Kangra had also acknowledged his superiority. Shahamat Ali has referred to Ranjit Dev's conquest of Kangra. He states :

"Ranjit Dev sent a large force, headed by Rattan Deo, to attack the territory of Raja Karm Chand (Ghamand Chand, 1751-1774), the grandfather of Raja Sansar Chand Katoch. Many of the petty chiefs on the road by which the army advanced acknowledged his authority without offering any obstacles to the progress of the expedition. On its approach to Nadaun, it was bravely opposed by Raja Karm Chand and a battle ensued between the two parties, in which the Katoch chief was defeated with great loss and obliged to sue for peace. He agreed that his son, Mian Teij (Tegh) Singh, should remain a hostage with Ranjeet Deo, and that he would pay the latter an annual contribution of one lakh and ninety thousand rupees ?[17]

The expedition stated here refers to the one sent by Ranjit Dev under the joint command of his heir-apparent Brijraj Dev and Mian Rattan Dev of Jasrota, to help Raj Singh of Chamba recover the *pargana* of Pathiar which Ghamand Chand had seized by force, as has been stated earlier.[18]

Kangra, however, was itself coming to prominance in the sixties of the eighteenth century, during the reign[19] of Ghamand Chand, who probably ascended the *gaddi* in 1761. The Katoch Raja became so powerful and influential that he was appointed "Afghan Governor of the Jallandhar Hills" in 1768 during Ahmad Shah Durrani's last invasion of India.[20] The ascendancy of Jammu over Kangra appears to have

17. Shahamat Ali : *The Sikhs and Ajghans.* reprint, Patiala, 1970 pp.83-84. Cf. *Gulab.*, pp. 30 ff.

18. The fact of establishment of some sort of Ranjit Dev's superiorit over Kangra finds an implied admission in an imperiai '*patta*' referred to somewhere else in connection with Dogra superemacy over Sialkot territory. This deed 11th Rajab A.B. 1192 (A.D. 1777-78) conferred by Mughal Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam (1759-1806) acknowledges Ranjit Dev's supremacy over the Rajas of neighbouring territories and expressly states that high orders have been issued to all other Rajas that they should obey you—(*w rajahai decgar ham furman-i-wala sharaf-i-nafaz Yafta Keh taba-i-shuma' bashand—S,A.R.—J., Persian Dacuments, file No. 2 of year A.H. 1188*). He has particularly been advised to "adopt the principles of unity with all the rajas, particularly with Raja Anb (And ?) Chand Kotoch and others to keep them in consonance with you". The name of the Katoch Raja cannot be clearly read. The present document is a copy of the *patta* and the copyist seems to have multilated the name beyond recognition. Raja Sansar Chand has succeeded to the Katoch *gaddi* in Hijra 1191 according to the seal used by him on his Persian correspondence addressed to the British Governor-General and other persons ; Cf. *Foreign political consultation*, N.A. I [ND. . 6 December 1811, No. 62-A ; 2nd August, 1815, No. 32-B ; 4th, May 1816, No. 90-A ; 4th May 1822, No. 128-B.

19. Sud L.M.R., "*The Rise of Sansar Chand*", *J.P.U H.S.*, (1935), IV Pt. I, No. 7, pp. 63-70 ; (1934), III, Pt, I No. 5 pp. 31-41, "Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra."

20. Cunningham, *A.*, *A.S.I. op. Cit.*, p. 152 ; Sud, L.M.R., *op. Cit.* 3 Latif, *History of the Panjab*, 1891, p.

been established some time before that date, probably between 1764 and 1768. But soon Ghamand Chand rose to power to challenge Jammu supremacy. After the death of Ghamand Chand in 1774 Ranjit Dev was once again left supreme and with no rival in the Hills of Jammu and Kangra, till his death in 1782. During this period Kangra might have allowed itself to be led by Jammu. There is, however, no positive proof of Jammu's direct supremacy over Kangra, except for several instances of mutual rivalry of these two leading States in which contest Kangra played the role of a weaker neighbour, and the arms of Jammu supremacy extended now and then to grasp at some territories of Kangra, strengthened as these were with the cooperation of Jasrota, Basohli and Chamba which were subject to Ranjit Dev's authority.

(iv) Nurpur

For some time Ranjit Dev seems to have maintained his paramount position in the Hill States on the both sides of the Ravi, and his Darbar was adorned by the presence of many princes of Dugar and Jalandhar realms.[21] The Rajas of Chamba and Nurpur were related to the royal house of Jammu. Raja Prithvi Singh, who ruled over Nurpur from 1735 to 1789, was Ranjit Dev's son-in-law. This relationship, however, did not hinder in any way the political ambitions of both. Prithvi Singh started counter acting the political moves of Brajraj Dev, and this offered Ranjit Dev a pretext for leading a second expedition to the east of the Ravi, this time against Nurpur. He deputed Brajraj Dev to chastise Prithvi Singh. The contest was a long one in which Nurpur was helped by many Rais and Rajas of the Jalandhar tract and the Sikh chief, Jai Singh Kanhiya. The Jammu force was, however, successful and Raja Prithvi Singh was brought to Jammu as a prisoner, where "the Maharaja soothed him by dignified favours, and the principality of Nurpur continued to be bestowed upon him as before.[23]

Ranjit Dev had thus humbled his rivals in the hills and equalled the chiefs in the plains after 1770. His power seems to be at the zenith of glory at this time.

(v) Sikh Misls

The relation of the Sikhs with the Dogra's goes back to the days of Guru Govind Singh and Banda Bhadaur. Both of these leaders were compelled to take refuge in the hills of Jammu region when chased by the Mughals. However, regular politcal relations between these two people grew up towards the middle of the eighteenth ceutury under the shadow of Mughal-Afghan struggle for the posession of Lahore. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century Sikhs had organised themselves into small bands called *deras* and *misals*, to offer struggle

21. *Gulab.*, pp. 30-35.

22. *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. 1, p. 261.

23. This incident, however, finds no mention in the family annals of Nurpur State. But Diwan Kirpa Ram learnt of it personally during his visit to Simla in 1846. Cf. *Gulab.*, pp. 36-37.

agalnst the Muslim rulers of the Punjab. When defeated the Sikh chiefs and their followers used to find safe refuge in Ranjit Dev's territories. They had therefore become familiar with the Hill country. Some of these *deras* had acknowledged the Dogra overlordship and formed a part of Ranjit Dev's dominion.

During the forties these bands became more powerful and better organised politically and when the Punjab became disturbed in the late forties on account of Durrani invasions, they became very active and mobile. Meanwhile, the Dogra Kingdom of Jammu had been thrown into confusion by Ranjit Dev's imprisonment, and even after his release in 1745 he was not able to strengthen his hold on his territories for several years. At the same time the Misls of Kanheyas, Sukarchckias and Bhangis whose possessions were co-terminous with those of Ranjit Dev, were gathering strength. The rise of the Kanhiyas in the Gurdaspur district jeopardised his possessions in that tract. The Kahiya Sardars of Dode *talluqa* were the first to rise against his dominance and organise themselves into a political unit and declare their independence. This happened in 1751. In the following ten years the Kanhiya Sardars wrested Kot Naina, Dudu Chack and Shakargarh *talluqas*. Soon after, the Kanhiyas conquered Behrian in 1764, Salvari in 1768, Manga in 1769. Taking advantage of the Jammu family feud of 1774, Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh occupied the Morli *tallnqa* consisting of 22 villages.[24]

The power of the Kanhiyas therefore proved a great challenge to Ranjit Dev. Although the losses he suffered at their hands in the beginning seem to be minor and some of the lost territories might have been later reclaimed, they nevertheless circumscribed his political ambition in that corner.

Soon after the extirpation of the Durrani power from the Punjab Ranjit Dev had to come to grips with more powerful Sikh *misls* which had been then firmly established to the south and east of his kingdom. The Kanheyas had grown into a considerable power. They not only kept possession of Mukerian and Hajipur but also extended their sway over the territory of the upper Bari Doab and towards the west of Ravi, and had become Ranjit Dev's rivals in the east and Kangra Hills.

Besides the Kanheyas, the Sukarchakiyas were also the immediate neighbours of the Dogra State of Jammu. They held possession of the important strongholds of Gujranwala, Eminabad, Wazirabad, Ramnagar, Bhera, Kunjah, Salt Ranges and a number of other places in the three western Doaba,25 and were therefore a considerable power even as early as the fifties of the eighteenth century.

24. *Gazelter of Gurdaspur District*, 1883-84, vol. I, pp. 19-20.

25. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Arya Press, Lahore, 1885, Daftar II, p. 5 ; *Gujranwala District Gazetter*, p. 15 ; *Gujrat District Gazetter* p. 16 ; *Shahpur District Gazetter* pp. 17-18 ; Griffin and Massy, *Chiefs etc*, II p. 320 ; Ganesh Dass, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-9; Khushwaqt Rai *op. cit.*, pp. 130-31.

The Bhangis, the most powerful Sikh confederacy to the south and west of Dogra kingdom, had even more extensive possessions, spreading from Pathankot in the east to Rawalpindi in the west. They held the important cities of Amritsar, Lahore and Sialkot. The Bhangis of Gujrat alone owned 18 forts, and their possessions yielded an annual revenue of 13 lakh rupees. They could muster a force of 8,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry; whereas the Bhangis of Sialkot could raise 3,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry.[26] Mahan Singh Sukerchakia was reported to possess 1,500 horse and 5,000 foot [37].

Ranjit Dev had thus a pack of formidable foes in his neighbourhood, who cast greedy eyes on his prosperous kingdom, first out of their rapacious instinct of plunder, and later urged by the political ambition of expansion. Attracted by the wealth and prosperity of Jammu they commenced their plundering operations and disgorged Jammu territory of some of its wealth on few occasions. In 1755 the Bhangi chiefs captured Lahore, and next year one of the Bhangi Sardars, Gujjar Singh, overran Jammu territory and seized Islamgarh, Punch and Deva Batala.[28] In 1761-62 Jammu was again raided by Bhamma Singh and Hari Singh, both of the Bhangi Misl, and on each occasion the town was plundered. Hari Singh Bhangi swept over the Indus and the Derajat country and "sacked Jammu at the head of 12,000 cavalry, made Ranjit Dev, the Rajput Raja of Jammu, their tributary, and penetrated into the Kashmir Valley, where. however, they were repulsed with loss.[29] For some time after, Ranjit Dev seems to have been more or less subject to Jhanda Singh, the then leader of Bhangi Misl and paid some kind of tribute to him.[30]

With the breakdown of Muslim power in the Panjab in 1768, the great Sikh Misls began to acquire political and territorial importance, and Jammu along with the rest of the Northern Punjab became the scene of rivalry between the Sardars of the Bhangi, Kanhaya and Sukerchakia misls.[31] The Bhangis again attacked Jammu in about 1770 and Ranjit Dev was forced to pay tribute,[32] and by his wise policy he warded off the danger for a time."[33] "Sicques (Sikhs), indeed)," writes

26. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs, op. cit.*, pp 4-5 and 46 and 51.
27. *India Tracts*, II, xii and *Hussain Shahi*, pp 235 and 237 citod by Dr. Hari Ram Gupta in the *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. III, pp. 46-51.
28. Latif, Sayad Muhammad, *History of the Panjab from the remotest anjiquity to the present time*, Calcutta, 1891 (Reprint, New Delh', 1961), p. 303.
29. *Ibid*, p. 297.
30. Hutchison, J. and Jean Philfips Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, 2 vols. Lahore, 1933, i.p. 544.
31. Panikkar, K.M., *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, London, 1953. p. 10,
32. *Ibid.* pp. 10-11.
33. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs, from Nadir Shah's invasion to the rise of Ranjit Singh*, Lahore 1944 vol. III pp. 1231.

George Forster "aware of the chief, were contented with the name of tribute."[34] The tribute was probably Rs. 30,000.[35]

A struggle for territorial possessions and establishment of influence had already started between the Dogra ruler and the Sikh Chiefs. In addition to the occasional plundering incursions into Jammu territory in which Sikhs were invariably repulsed, they twice interfered in Ranjit Dev's relations with the Rajput chiefs of Kangra states. In a family feud between the Dogra Raja and his son-in-law, Raja Prithi Singh of Nurpur, Jai Singh and other Kanheya Sardars fought on the side of the Pathanias with the result that the struggle became a prolonged affair.

Made bold by their initial successes against the petty states of the Ravi-Bias region, the Sikhs availed another opportunity to thwart Ranjit Dev's endeavours to extend his influence towards the east of the Ravi. As described else-where, Raj Singh of Chamba rebelled and threw off the Yoke of Jammu supremacy in 1774. Ranjit Dev sent forces under Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli to subdue Chamba. Raj Singh sought assistance of Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, and the combined Sikh and Chamba forces expelled Ranjit Dev's vassal. Raj Singh paid to the Sikhs one lakh of rupees and became tributary to Jassa Singh Ramgarhia who thus thwarted Ranjit Dev in his advance towards the east.[36]

The Sikh chiefs got their last opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Jammu state in A.D. 1774, when the heir-apparent, Brijraj Dev, rebelled against his father and invited the Sukerchakias and the Kanahiyas for his aid. Ranjit Dev, however, rose to the occasion and foiled their attempt to interfere in his family affairs or to plunder Jammu. The rebel prince and his confederates were defeated and dispersed without gaining anything. Ranjit Dev's determined efforts to save the Dogra kingdom from Sikh dominance succeeded even during the year 1774-75 which was the worst year for him and his principality. Afterwards he became so powerful that the neighbouring misls no longer dared to encroach into his territories, yet as Griffin observes; "It was a mis-fortune that he was not strong enough to resist the wild Sikh levies flushed with the new wine of religious enthusiasm, and as keen for the plunder of the orthodox Hindu as for the hated Musalman."[37] The reason was that though he had extended his dominions greatly, yet at his death, their annual total revenue did not exceed a few lakhs of rupees, which G.C. Smyth placed at only eithty thousand

34. Forster, G., *A Journey from Bengal to England*, Reprint Patiala, 1970, pp. 286-87.
35. *Sialkot District Gazutter* puts the sum of tribute al 1 1/4 lakh, Kushwakt Rai (p. 155) at 2 1/2 lakhs, and *Roj Khalsa* (Vol. III, p. 4) at one Lakh.
36. Forster, G., *A Journey from Bengal to England*, op. cit,, i. 270; H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs, op. Cit.*, iii, 23.
37. Griffin, Sir Lepel H., *Ranjit Singh and the Sikh barrier between our growing empire and central Asia*, Oxford, 1892. Reprint. Ranjit Singh, Delhi, 1957, p. 189.

rupees, the country being very poor and thinly populated.[38] With such meagre resources in men and money, coupled with his averston for plunder and confiscation of other's property, he could not be expected to raise a strong army. Nevertheless, he kept up the power and prestige of the Dogra land, and, like Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra after him. he too aspired to extend his dominion into the Panjab and to possess its capital, Lahore. But the rise of Sikh Misls on the ruins of the Mughal and Durrani powers in the Panjab after 1760 frustrated his dreams and awakened him to the grim reality of a long drawnout and sanguinary struggle with the Sikh Misls for the preservation of the ancient Dogra principality against their predatory inroads. In this effort he was successfull to a large extent, and maintained his premiere position over a large hill kingdom, spreading from Chamba to Rajouri and Bhimbar.

(vi) Supremacy over other Hill States.

By A.D. 1775, Ranjit Dev could breathe freely. The Bhangi chiefs Ganda Singh and Jhauda Singh, and Charat Singh Sukerchakia, the most powerful rivals of Ranjit Dev in the plalns, had died. Jai Singh Kanheya and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia were far off. Only they could be his rivals in territories to the east of the Ravi, but they did not covet his possessions nor challenge his supremacy in the region east of the Ravi after 1775. He was therefore left supreme in the hills from Rajori and Mirpur in the west to Chamba and Kangra in the east.

Akhnur was another State to the west of the Chenab which was for long a part of Jammu principality since A.D. 1640, when it was conquered by Raja Jag Dev from the Khattah tribe. But the Jagirdar seems to have become independent, and it is believed that it was again occupied by Raja Ranjit Dev and appointed Govind Rai as *Kardar* and another Ambaraiyan officer, probably as his Diwan."[39] Ranjit Dev was an ally of Ahmad Shah, and when in 1752 the Mughal Emperor of Delhi ceded *Subah* of Lahore to Durrani, Ranjit Dev might have taken advantage of his alliance to assert his supremacy over Akhnur, Rajouri and other Chibhal States to the west of the Chenab. Although no conclusive evidence is available concerning Ranjit Dev's superemacy over other Chibhal States there is every likelihood of most of these states being subject to him. *Tarikh-i Panjab* States that Rajouri was tributary to Jammu.[40] Manawar was also a Jagir of the heir-apparent, Brijraj Dev, according to Genesh Dass.[41] *Gulabnama*, However, has included almost

38. Smyth, G. C., *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, Reprint, Patiala, 1970, p. 247.

39. SAR (J), Persian Records *File No. 281 of Sambat 1921*. A.D. 186'. It contains a scrap of paper, possibly a note from some nistory of Akhnur, containing this Information.

40. *Tarikh-i-Panjab* of Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din, cited by J. Hutchison and J, Ph. Vogel, *H.P.H.S.*, Vol. II p. 545.

41. Ganesh Dass Badehra, *Rajdarshani*, Persian MS., British (Museum, London p.

all the Chibhal States upto the Jehlum in Ranjir Dev's kingdom. But no further evidence on the subject is available.

Ranjit Dev made the most out of his alliance with Ahmad Shah Durani and as soon as Panjab was ceded to Durrani he extended his sway over the north-eastern hill states including Bhadarwa[42], in 1752. Kishtwar, too seems to have been subdued in the same year.[43] When Mihar Singh became the Raja of Kishtwar in 1771, his younger brother, Sujan Singh, left the state and went to Jammu, signifyifig Ranjit Dev's complete sway over Kishtwar.[44]

Reverses in Kashmir :

Ranjit Dev's influence had already been introduced in the Kashmir Valley by the grant, in A.D. 1762, of a jagir worthy sixty-thousand *Kharwar* of *shali* (rice) by Ahmad Shah Durrani, and Pandit Bir Bal Kachru[45] testifies to the transaction. Towards the close of his career Ranjit Dev had acquired sufficient power to consider seriously the conquest of the Kashmir valley for himself. The tyrannical rule of the autonomous Afghan governor, Haji Karim Dad Khan, goaded the people of the valley to seek aid from whichever quarter it could be procured to overthrow the tyrant. The disgruntled members of the Kanth family as well as chiefs of the Khakha and Bomba tribe secretly invited Ranjit Dev to attempt an invasion of the Valley, promising his active aid. In 1779, while the Haji was busy in subjugating Skardu. Ranjit Dev launched an attack via Banihal Pass with a large force.

But Karim Dad's Aghan forces got timely intellingence and ambushing themselves behind the rocks in the side of the valleys, fell upon the invaders suddenly and with such fury that Ranjit Dev's army had to retreat in grave disorder.[46] His expedition across the Pir Panjal came to grief because he had grown too old to lead military expedition across the high Mirbal Pass and the young heir-apparent Brijraj Dev was also not on good terms with his father.

Extent of Ranjit Dev's kingdom and sway

The year 1775 and after saw Ranjit Dev at the pinnacle of power. With the death of Raja Ghammand Chand Katoch of Kangra in that year he had been left supreme in the hills from the Jehlum to Bias and the adjoining plain. The death of Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1773 had already left him an independent chief, sovereign over all these regions, and he deservedly acquired for the principality of jammu the

42. *H.P.H,S.*, Vol, II, p. 624.
43. *Ibid*, p. 656;
44. *Ibid*' Also, Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories, op, cit.*, p. 10,
45. Bir Bal Kachru, Pandit *Tawarikh-i-Kashmit*, Persian MS in G.R.D. (S), fol. 169.
46. Prithvi Nath Kaul Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir, op. cit.* Delhi, 1962. pp. 402-3.

proud privilege of the popular saying "*baiyan wich Jammu Sardar hai.*" (Among the twenty two, Jammu is the head.[47]

The grandeur of his power had echoes in the portals of the imperial court of Delhi, and the Moghal Emperor, Shah Alam II (1759-1806) was pleased to issue a royal rescript (*farman*) on 5th Muhorram, A.H. 1188, (A.D. 1775) recognising "*Raja-i-Rajaha*—Raja Ranjit Dev" as Raja of Jammu and demanding his allegiance to the throne of Delhi[48], which was no more than nominal and conventional.

Thus Ranjit Dev had reached the acme of fame by the middle of the seventies of the eighteenth century, He had created an extensive kingdom spreading over hills and plains. The boundary of his dominion on the north side included Kashtwar and Bhadarwah states, and extended upto the Banihal pass through which he sent his armies into the Kashmir Valley, twice in support of the Durrani's and for the third time in order to conquer the Valley for himself To the west, across the Chenab river, Punch was probably beyond the limit of his sway. But Rajauri, Manawar, Mirpur-Chumak and other territories were subject to him.[49] To the east of the Ravi, Nurpur and Chamba states were subject to Ranjit Dev and carried out his dictates and those of his immediate successor, Brajraj Dev, as is revealed from the *Takari* correspondence between the two states for the year 1782 and 1783.[50] Ranjit Dev was, therefore. the first modern Dogra ruler who almost rounded up the limits of the Dogra territories of Jammu state.

In addition to the Hill country. Many adjoining tracts of the Panjab plains also formed part of his Kingdom. These ineluded Daoltanagar, Karianwala, Alamgarh, Paroshah, Mari-Khokhran and Tanda Muta villages of Gajrat *pargana*, and Munawar and Behlolpur. The Thub villages in Sialkot, tracts of Ban, Arniya and *pargana* of Pasrur, Hamigarh and Zafarwal, Mandi Khel and Chanari upto the waters of of the Ravi, were in his sphere of occupation.[51].

On the decline of the Mughal empire Ranjit Dev "extended his sway over the low hands owing a nominal allegiance to Delhi" and by transferring his allegiance to Ahmadshah Durrani had acquired from him Zafarwal and other *parganahs* (part of Sialkot district) to his fief, and thus he had "secured possession of the whole district, except Sialkot town and its dependencies which were held by a Pathan family ?[52] "He made suceessful expeditions into the plains and defeated

47. Archer W.G., *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, op. cit., p. 179.
48. *Persian document No. 2 of the year A.H. 1188*,—State Archival Resposi-tory, Jammu.
49. Charak, S.D.S., *Maharaja Ranjit Dev aud the Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom*, Pathankot, 1971, pp. 45-47.
50. Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba, op. cit.*, Nos. e-25, c-30, c-32.
51. Charak, S.D.S , *Gulabnama*, Eng. trans, New Delhi, 1977, p. 43.
52. *Gazetteer of Gurdaspur District*, 1883-84 pp. 19-20.

several petty chiefs around Sialkot."[53] As stated earlier the Durranis had constantly recognised his sway on this district by formally conferring on him the *parganas* of Zafarwal, Sankhatra and Aurangabad. The copy of a *Patta*, dated 11th Rajab, 1192 A.H. (A.D, 1779), confirms the fact of his possession of Sialkot territory. In this document he has been asked to chastise one Hari Singh of Sabzalkot in the environs of hills as "Whatever territory is around Sialkot is in possession of the Maharaja (Ranjit Dev)."

Ranjit Dev had also inherited from his ancestors large tracts in Gurdaspur district of the Punjab. Traditionally he held 24 *talluqas* of Shakargarh and Gurdaspur *tehsils*. Thus in the south the frontier of his kingdom verged on the northern territories of the Districts of Gujarat, Sialkot and formed a line drawn from Dinga in the Chaj Doab to the river Chenab at Kalowal, and from Roras to Sankhatra in the Sialkot District, as far as Mandi Khel in Gurdaspur *pargana*.[54]

(C) ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE IDEAL

Very scanty information on Ranjit Dev's system of civil administration and justice is available from the existing sources although several contemporary and contemporaneous writers have showered praises on him for his lofty ideals, impartiality, religious toleration, wise administration and paternal character, "inspired by high ethical values. for which he deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler."

Administration at the Centre :

The administration of the Jammu State was run by Ranjit Dev himself who was the feudal lord and claimed allegiance of all subjects and chiefs of principalities uuder him. He weilded all the civil and military powers within the limits of his kingdom. He administered justice, led armies, directed military operations and expeditions, and ordered mobilisation to his vassals who were allowed to raise their own armies as in the case of Basohli. He sent his son Brijraj Dev against Raja Ghammand Chand of Kangra and the Raja of Nurpur, He commanded Raja Amritpal to lead his feudal contingent against Baja Raj Singh of Chamba, and also sent him to conquer Bhadu and Kishtwar for him, which the latter obeyed. Ranjit Dev led Jammu forces personally against the enemies of the state or in assistance of his Durrani ally.

Ranjit Dev directly ruled over his home principality of Jammu, which at that time incorporated Samba, Riasi, Dalpatpur and Akhnur. He himself appointed to look over these tracts military cum civil officials called '*thanadars*' who maintained law and order and helped revenue officials. The jagirs of Aurangabad, Zafarwal, Sankhatra, Gujrat, etc. granted to the ruler of Jammu by Mughal and Afghan

53. Cunningham, Lieutenant-colonel W.B,, *Dogras*, 1st. ed. 1918.

54. Rabert Dunlop Smith, James, *Sialkot District Gazetteer*, 1894-95, Lahore, 1895, p. 17.

rulers in their times, were similarly administered. That these petty officers carried on proper administration under the guidance of the liberal and just king of Jammu is borne out by the fact that thousands of Mughal, Afghan and Sikh nobles and plebians took refuge in this territory during the period of chaos and anarchy which afflicted the land between Peshawar and Delhi. That Jammu territories had become famous as '*Dar-ul-Aman*'—a safe territory—speaks volumes about the good administration of the land.

In the administration of Jammu territory, Ranjit Dsv was assisted by a number of high officials some of whom have been mentioned in the records. The foremost among them was the *Wazir* (Minister). One 'Udho' was *Wazir* of Ranjit Dev through whom the Maharaj's orders were carried out. There was also a Superintendent of the Raja's Household, who managed the affairs of the court and palace. Mian Musa had held this office for some time.

There was always a *Kul-purohit* who also weilded great influence over the king. The king perhaps consulted him on ecclesiastical affairs. It was only to the priest that the king paid a personal visit. The well known scholar and Dogri poet, Dev Dutt was probably the family priest as he had held the office of '*Purohit*' to the Pandir Raja of Bhadu, from where he was brought to Jammu.

The *Yuvaraj* or the heir-apparent also helped the ruler in State affairs. He was usually present beside the king in the Durbar; and distributed justice himself in the absence of the king. The heir-apparent led armies also.

Probably there was a '*Diwan*' for dealing with revenue affairs. But none is mentioned in any record. The main source of income was land revenue which, according to the *Gulabnama*, was one-fourth of the gross produce. Octroi tax on merchandise and trade was another main source, in addition to usual tribute from the subordinate principalities. In 1783, the total revenue according to Forster, was about five lakhs of rupees annually. It would have been much more in the days of Ranjit Dev who firmly held the fertile *shahi parganas* of the Punjab in Gujrat, Sialkot and Gurdaspur districts, and a jagir worth one lakh and twenty thousand in Kashmir valley.

Ranjit Dev's army seems to have been organised on feudal and clan basis. The king probably had standing units of his own Jamwal kinsfolk which were officiated by great commanders like Ghansar Dev and Rattan Dev who held independent command of their forces. But most of the force was comprised of feudal levies mobilised in the time of need.

Administration of the Mufassil :

Apart from the home district of Jammu, rest of the kingdom was parcelled out into various hereditary principalities and grants or jagirs. In its palmiest days the state comprised the following principalities.

Bhau, Dalpatpur, Samba, Jasrota, Lakhanpur, Trikot, Mankot, Bandralta, Cheneni, Bhoti, Bhadu, Balaur, Rajouri, Bhimber and Khari-Khariali.

Chamba and Nurpur were also subject to Ranjit Dev for some time. All these feudatory chiefs governed their own subjects, but held feudatory ties with the ruler of Jammu, paid him tribute and rendered him military service and sent levies when called for. Within their own principality they had absolute jurisdiction in all affairs. They administered all civil and financial affairs of their principalities as also gave judgements. Their subjects were mostly attached to them and had not much to do with the Maharaja except perhaps in affairs of justice.[55]

During a portion of the year feudatory chiefs would be present at Jammu itself, attending the court of the ruler, and holding separate Durbars themselves. Till recently various spots in Jammu were remembered where each of the tributaries held his court on a minor scale.

Although these chiefs were under one central government, yet they had their own soldiers, mostly belonging to the class of the feudatory chief. Consequently there was some petty warfare resulting some times in an extension and sometimes in a contraction of the central ruler ; but chiefs were more in sport than in serious fighting, and the various ruling families continued nearly the same relative position for great length of time.

The Capital :

The administration of Jammu, the capital city, was entrusted to an official called '*Kotwal*' who policed the locality. He was high police official assisted by subordinates aud constables. In about 1759 and after, a certain person, named Mukarma, was the city *Kotwal* who built a new dwelling for Mughlani Begam on orders of the Minister Udho[56]. The Begam had to bestow on him a robe of honour. This police chief "was a michievous person." When a rue was caused by a few attendants of the Begam on the arrears of their salaries, the police chief arrived and caught hold of the miscreants. He sent for them at his house where a band of persons seized them and deposited them into a dark well. The chief demanded a pearl necklace from Miskin, the slave of the Begam which was, of course, not forthcoming. Later on, the Begam rescued her men and she rebuked the *Kotwal* for ill-treating them.

The official corruption was universally rampant. and Jammu officials were no exception. But their opression was kept in check by

55. Charak, S.D.S., *Mnharaja Ranjit Dev and the Fall of the Jammu Kingdom*, Pathankot, 1971, p. 84.

56. Setu Madhava Rao. P., *Tahmas Nama, the autobiography of a slave* (abridged), Eng. tr., Bombay, 1967, p. 74.

the liberal and just ruler who extracted praise from all as "a man of great ability force of character and administrative talent[57]. It was usual for Ranjit Dev to ride a horse through the streets and listen personally to the complaints of the citizens. This practice might have restrained the Jammu officials from perpetrating opression on the people. Administration, therefore' had been mild and considerate, imbibed with secular and liberal ideals, far in advance of the age, so that a British intelligencer had to inform his government : "The writer knows of no other people from Attock to Delhi who live more free from care and free from fear than those of Jammu[58]."

Justice and Secular Ideals :

One of the causes of the security of life and property at Jammu was Ranjit Dev's love for justlce and respect for the rights of the people including merchants, travellers and emigrants. He was a ruler noted for justice and impartiality[59]. He took keen interest in disposing justice personally. His court was homely and his demeanour simple so that everyone even the lowliest, had easy access to the king. His love for justice became theme for many a legend. His anxiety for arriving at the truth of each case, and his detached attitude for the property of others have become subject for several popular anecdotes. He made justice so prompt and easily available that the age-old practice of '*para parna*[60]' performed in the Dugar by the aggrieved to extract justice, became useless and died out.[61]

He showed some interest in social reform also and is said to have imposed ban on the evil practice of '*Sati*'. At least he pursuaded his Ranis not to become '*sati*' on his death, and two of them refrained from the act. His eversion to female infanticide is evident from the fact that the two daughters born to him were properly brought up and married to the Rajas of Basholi and Nurpur[62]. He probably believed in the maxim of preaching by example in the field of social reform rather than by legislation.

His impartial and just nature as ruler culminated in his secular outlook on the affairs of state and the activities of society. In that age of political instability and religious persecution Ranjit Dev extended his protection to all irrespective of caste and creed. He gave shelter to Muhammadans also. He accorded them full religious freedom and civil rights of property and of worship.

57. *H.P,H.S.*, Vol. II, p. 542.
58. Imperial Records Dept., *Calender of Persian Correspondence*, 11 vols. calcutta, 1911-14, vol. v, 1836.
59. Gupta, Hari Ram. *Studies in the Later Mughal History of the Punjab*, 124.
60. There was a custom in the Dogra land that when a sufferer failed to get his grievances rendressed, he would hung himself upside down on a tree to attract the attention of the king to his case. When even this failed, he would commit suicide by thrusting open his belly by a daggar.
61. Narsing Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des, Jammu*, January, 1967, p. 39.
62. Narsing Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des*, op. cit, p. 92.

He set apart a separate quarter for them. He held out to them many encouragements, and observed towards them an honourable conduct. "But the chief of Jumbo", writes George Forster.[63] 'went farther than the forebearance of injuries ; he avowedly protected and indulged his people, particularly the Mahomedans, to whom he alloted a certain quarter of town, which was thence denominated Moghulpur, and that no reserve might appear in his treatement of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony ; a liberality of disposition, the more conspiciuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like toleration in this part of India."

That Ranjit Dev held enlightened views which were far in advance of his times is testified to by the same observer. Everywhere else religious bigotary and superstition prevailed; but Ranjit Dev was not at all swayed by hackneyed and orthodox ideas. His attitude towards the orthodox Hindus seems to be quite revolutionary. The Hindus once complained to him that the public wells of the town were defiled by the leather vessels being used by Muhammadans for drawing water. They wanted that Muhammadans should be ordered to get water from the river. But he abruptly dismissed the complaint, saying that the water was a pure element designed for the general use of mankind, and could not be polluted by the touch of any class of people. "An administrator so munificent and judicious," concInded Forster, "and at the same time that it enforced the respect of his own subjects, made Jumbo a place of extensive commercial resort, where all descriptions of men experienced, in their person and property, a full security."[64]

(D) Jammu, 'Darul Aman'—'The Abode of Refuge'

One of the redeeming features of this period of constant upheaval and chaos was the peace that prevailed in Jammu, the Capital of Ranjit Dev. This led to the influx of a large population into his territories. Several politicial refugees also found a ready asylum in Jammu and were treated by Ranjit Dev with much distinction. Khushwaqt Rai names several families which had found refuge at Jammu during the troubles in the Panjab. Among others, Malika Zamani, queen of Emperor Muhammad Shah, and one of the widows of Mir Mannu[65] ; Hari Singh, the son of Raja Kaura Mal, the Diwan of Muin-ul-Mulk, and their family—all received a congenial refuge in Jammu. Likewise, Dalpat Rai, son of Lakhpat Rai, had also settled there along with the remains of several other families of the nobles of the Delhi and Vicergal courts. Ranjit Dev treated them all with the distinction.[66] He saved the

63. Forster , George, *A Journey from Bengal to Englaud*, London 1798, 2 vols. I, p. 383.

65. She was the famous Mughlani Begum, daughter of Abdus Samad Khan, the former governor of the Panjab, and the wife of Mum-u-Mulk alias Mir Mannu, the Governor of the Panjab from 1848 till his death on 15th, September, 1853, Cf. Charak, p. 143.

66. Prinsep, H.T., *History of the Punjab*, 2 vols,, London, 1846, Vol-I, p. 173, Gupta Hari Ram, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

life of Kabuli Mal, Ahmad Shah's Hindu Governor of Lahore when ousted from Lahore and threatened by the Bhangi Sardars in October, 1764. The Sikhs as well as the Afghan rulers of the Panjab, were equally given protection by Ranjit Dev. The Sukarchakia Sardar Charat Singh and Muin-ul-Mulk, the Mughal governor of Lahore sent families and treasures to the care of Ranjit Dev when Ahmed Shah Durrani advanced on Lahore in 1761 and 1763.[67].

Not only were the nobles and important political personages given shelrer by Ranjit Dev, He extended his protection and patronage to merchants, traders, artisans and displaced people of all castes and creeds without distinction with the resalt that Jammu became popular all over Northern India as a safe place of refugee———"*Darul Aman Jammu*". This reputation extended far and wide and nnmerous families from different quarters, including some persons of high rank and large fortunc, fled to his territory[68], and settled in Jammu so that "a large bazaar and well-equipped market grew up over an area of a mile and three-quarters with a fresh population and an inexplicable splendour[69],

It was probably the bazar from the Maheshi or Gumat gate upto Mandi palaces.

Most of the refugees and traders who sought shelter at Jammu, brought with them the great bulk of their fortunes, and here "all their rights and persons were invariably respected." "In the year 1775", writers G.C. Smyth. "the town of Jammu had increased to about three miles and half in circumference, being about twice as large as at the present day (1846). Its inhabitants then numbered about 150,000 souls more than four times as many as now inhabit the town."[70] It was considered an oppulent, wealthy, flourishing and promising place having for its residents numerous wealthy men from the Panjab. One of these alone is said to have brought with him upwards of a crore of rupee.[71]

He encouraged even Muslim population to settle in Jammu, and allotted them a separate quarter, as noted above. The Muslims of the Panjab were adept artisans and craftsmen and Ranjit Dev seems to have recognised their utility for a flourishing town. But his own secular policy was probably a more powerful motive behind his extraordinary indulgence in that community. He even built a mosque for them in the city around which the colony of Mastgarh has grown up. He also built a house for Mughlani Begam. The dwelling came to be known as Haveli-Begam which gave its name to yet another *mohalla*.

67. Gupta Hari Ram, *A Hisiory of the Sikhs, op. cit.*, Vol I p. 74 ; Latif, S.M. *Hist. of the Panjab*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 339.
68. Symth, G.C. p. 241.
69. *Gulab*, Eng, tr. p, 29.
70. Smyth, G.C., p. 241.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

Ranjit Dev was able to commence the building of the present palace at Jammu, where in the times of his father some miserable huts stood.[72]

In addition to this, he also finished the construction of the Bahu fort which was commenced by Gulab Dev in the beginning of Dhruv Dev's reign.[73]

Although Jammu had been attacked and sacked by Sikhs badly on Ranjit Dev's death and a battle was raging when Forster visited Jammu in April, 1783, it was nevertheless, having a flourishing trade and even in its decayed state Jammu was still "a mart of first rate in this quarter of the country.[74]."

The cause of the affluence of Jammu and its rich trade was the confusion and disorder on the plains which had diverted trade to the hills, and compelled many wealthy merchants to shift their trade and establish branch firms in Jammu for safety and security. The Raja extended welcome to all of them. Consequently, his capital flourished and grew. Above all, the character of Ranjit Dev "was such as gave confidence to traders, and induced them to flock to his capital for protection.[75]

COINS

During the early part of the reign Ranjit Dev struck coins in the name of the Mughal Emperor of Delhi[76], but later these were struck in his own name. On these later coins he used the Bikrami year. A few of his coins have been noticed by numismatists[77]. One of these bears the following inscription on the obverse :

72. Smyth, G.C. p. 341.
73. Symth, G.C., p. 342.
74. Forster, George, *op. cit*, Vol, I. p. 283.
75. *Cuuningham's Hist. of the Sikhs*, ed. H.L.O. Garrett, Oxford, 1918, p. 103.
76. Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, *Hist. of the Sikhs*, iii, page 29, note 2. is of the opinion that the "Julus" year on Ranjit Dev's coins refer to the year of accession of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. But in case of coins, like the present one, it is not improbable that he used the year of his own accession, on assumption of independence after 1752 A,D. The significance of dates, however, is not quite clear,
77. J.C. Rodgers notices four rupees of this ruler with a short history of his dynasty These coius are of the following two types :
    1. Obverse : *Sikka Shah Alam badisnah ghazi*. Reverse ; *Zorab Darul Aman Jammu sun julus maimnat manus 24.*
    2. *Khana-i-Ranjit Dev obad Karad, Lachmi Narain dil Shad Kard.* Reverse : same as No. 1,

    See *jour of As. Soc. of Bengal*. LIV, Pt. I, pp. 60-65.

    "Some coins of Ranjit Dev, King of Jammu——A hundred years Ago." by C.J. Redgers.

Khana-i-Ranjit Dev abad kard
Lachemi Narian dil shad kard

The legend conveys the meaning that the house of Ranjit Dev became happy and the Laxmi Narain (which may be their god) pleased their hearts. It is presumed that this type was probably issued when his differences with his eldest son, Brijraj were composed.[78] However, Ganesh Dass' reading is slightly different. He reads 'Kun' in both the lines instead of '*kard*' which would render the legend into prayer for fortune and well being.[79]

(9) Last Days and Estimate :

The last days of Ranjit Dev were, however, not very pleasant indeed. The reconciliation between the father and son which can be inferred from the type of coins referred to above. probably evaporated soon and their relations seem to have become strained once again because of Ranjit Dev's preference for his younger son, Dalel Singh, which in turn exacerated Brijraj's enmity with his father and ultimately led to Dalel Singh's murder by Brijraj in A.D. 1782-[80]

However, he ruled in comparative peace and prosperity after 1774 till his death, during which period he revived the former grandeur and prosperity of the Dogra land. But he had now become old and broken in health and his end was drawing near when the Raja of Jasrota, tributary and ally of Jammu threw off his allegiance and challenged his authority. Prince Dalel Singh, who assisted his father after the civil war of 1774-75, was sent in order to bring back Jasrota to submission. In this work the prince was assisted by a contingent of the Akhnurias, He was successful in this venture, but he fell out with the feudal contigents of the Akhnurias, who became his enemies and plotted to take his life, In such an atmosphere of plots and counter-plots of his sons, the great Dogra ruler died on the 22nd Chait, 1838 Bikrami (4th April, 1782 A.D.), leaving the throne to be disputed by the rival claimants.

The principality of Jammu was ruled for about half a century by Ranjit Dev, He was a man of great admniistrative ability, a brave warrior and conqueror. Within a few years after his father's death he proved himself to be an able and active ruler and he did more for his country and tribe than did all the long line of Rajas before him. He remodelled the state, and all this much for the better. He showed keenness for social reform and considered dispensing of justice his primary responsibility. He held liberal and secular views far in advance of the times in which he ruled. Mr. F. Drew writes that Ranjit Dev was a man whose qualities as ruler were there spoken of with the highest respect. He was a tolerant man, he encouraged Muslims as well as men of his faith; under him many were attracted to Jammu and the town spread and

78. Singhal, C.R., *Bibliography of India Coins*, Pt. II (Muhammadan and Later Series), the Numismatic society of India, Bombay , 1952, p. 163,

79. *Rajdarshani* SPM., folio 229 b.

80. Archer, W.G,: *Indian Paintings ftom the Panjab Hills, op. cit.*, p. 179.

flourished. His epoch was both the culmination and the beginning of the end of old state of things."[81] Tne Dogra land which was formerly a congeries of about two dozen principalities, assumed the form of a well knit kingdom. The society once again imbibed the secular spirit of the days of Akbar aud Zain-ul-Abidin. The social ills of '*Sati*' and infanticide probably received first blows in the hills and the move for social reform was afoot.

George Forster who visited Jammu about a year after Ranjit Dev's death, stands testimony to the lofty ideals, impartiality, religious toleration, wise administration and paternal character of the ruler, inspired by higher ethical values. Because of such liberal qualities he "deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler[3,82] A despatch recived by the British Governor General at Culcutta on the 19th, April, 1780 states : "The said Raja (Ranjit Dev) is distinguished for his courage and valour and is so just and kind to his *ryots* that the inhabitants of the Panjab and the Doab (Gangetic) have since the time of Nadir Shah's invasion, always found a safe refuge in his country from the tyranny of unscrupulous adventurers".[83] Hugel also praised Ranjit Dev for such qualities half a century after his death. "The prosperity of Jammu" he writes "was at its height under Ranjit Dev, Whose mild government extended equal protection to Hindus and Muhammadans while the Panjab was overrun by the horrors of war ?[84] The time in which he lived was one of the utter lawlessness, yet his little state was an abode of peace and safety, *Darul Aman*, where he patronised art and literature, revered holy men and offered protection to all irrespective of caste and creed. He thus set Jammu on the path of modernism. For these achievements he was remembered for long after. "A century ago," observes Drew, "the old regime was flourishing under Ranjit Dev ; he is still spoken of with the highest respect as a wise administrator, a just judge, and a tolerant man.[85]

81. Drew, Frederic, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, op. cit, p 10.
82. Fo-ster, George, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, rep. Patiala, 1970 Vol. I. p. 283.
83. Imperial Records Department, *Calender of Persian Correspondence*; 11 vols, Calcutta, 1911-14, val. V, 1836.
84. Hugel, Baron von carl Freiherrn von, *Travels in Cashmere and the Panjab*, Eng. tr. Major T.B. Jervis, london, 1845, p. 70.
85. Drew, F., *The Northern Barrier of India*, rep. New Delhi, 1971, p. 40.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Successors Of Ranjit Dev And Disintegration Of Jammu Raj

The history of Jammu kingdom after Ranjit Dev is a tale of intrigues, inroads and imbecility of rulers which brought about rapid disintegration of the Dogra principality of Jammu. In this process the royal house of Jammu itself and their supporters and favourites played the major role, besides the marauding operations of the *misl* hordes hungry for gold and silver. The seed for chaos and factionalism at the Jammu court had been sown in the very life time of the great Dogra ruler and when Brijraj Dev ascended the throne it sent its roots and branches throughout the length and breadth of the hill principality,

Maharaja Ranjit Dev had married four wives, two from Katoch family, and one each from the Salaria and the Rakwal families. From the two Katoch wives he had two sons, Brijraj Dev from the eldest and Dalel Dev from the second. He had two daughters, one of whom he married to Amrit Pal, the Raja of Basohli, and the other to Raja Prithvi Singh of Nurpur.

1. BRAJRAJ DEV (A.D. 1782 TO 1787 A.D.)

Brijraj Dev was, as narrated above of dissolute character, and therefore Ranjit Dev had intended to disinheriting him of the throne in favour of his second son, Dalel Singh. This created resentment in Brjjraj Dev and led to an open hostility betwcen the father aad the son resulting in interference of the Sikhs in Jammu affairs. After the death of Ranjit Dev "Raos and Rajas gathered together"[1] and seated Brijraj Dev on the throne on the '9th Baisakh of S. 1839,' corresponding to 21 April, 1782. The accession was unchallenged and hence should have been followed by a peaceful tenure. But he raised Mian Alam Singh Akhnuria, a sworn enemy of Dalel Singh, and Mian Attar Singh Dalpatiah, to the office of his counsellors and left all state affairs in their hands and drowned himself in "sensuousness and wrath."[3] Alam Singh decided to make use of his power to avengc the murder of his father, Tegh Singh on Dalel

1. *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 213 b.
2. *Ibid.* Also see *Gulabuama*, p. 82. Maharaja Ranjit Dev was living at least till the end of Mey, 1781, is borne out by his letter he wrote to the Governor-General, which is dated 29 May, 1781—*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI. 175.
3. *Rajdarshani*. SPM, fol. 13 b.

Singh. On the other hand the new ruler also cherished strong hatred against his step brother and conspired with Mian Alam Singh, his brother Arjan Singh and other Mians of Akhnur.[4] He first insinuated Mian Zorawar Singh to kill Dalel in return for the Jagir of Dansal but he refused to be enticed into the crime. But Mian Mota, another cousin, son of Surat Singh, undertook to perpetrate the deed with the help of the Akhnuria Mians. They were on the look out for an opportunity which soon presented itself when Dalel Singh set out on pilgrimage to the shrine of goddess Bhagwati on the Trikuta Hill, accompanied by his elder son Bhagwant Singh, a lad of sixteen years. Mian Mota, along with Alam Singh Sohalwala, followed them with a force. In the nullah of Charanpadika near Katra there was an encounter in which both Dalel Singh and his son were killed.

Jit Singh, second son of Dalel Singh, was not with them, and so he escaped to safety. But he too seems to have been imprisoned by Brajraj Dev later on, as related by Mr. Forster, who visited Jammu in April, 1783. This tragedy must have occured previous to his visit as he states that Brajraj Dev had slain one brother and imprisoned another. Probably it was Jit Singh, the son of Dalel Singh who was imprisoned, and "who having made his escape sought the protection of the Sicques (Sikhs). Pleased in having so favourable a pretext for entering Jumbo. which they attempted in vain in the administration of Runzeid Deve, the Sicques promised to espouse the fugitive's cause with a vigour."[5]

Before approaching Sikh *misldars* for support the mother of Jit Singh took him to the protection of the Raja of Jasrota[6].

Brijraj Dev not only antagonised most of his people by this impolitic revenge which escalated factionalism, but he further estranged them by his youthful indulgences at the neglect of state affairs. He was unable to hold the reins of government efficiently[7].

His courtiers and subjects in general were discontented ; and this encouraged the aspiring Sukarchakia chief, Mahan Singh, to pick a quarrel with him. Brijraj Dev failed to realise Sikh treachery, and in his simple faith he depended on the friendship of the Suckarchakia chief who had exchanged turbans with him. Assured in himself of Mahan Singh's friendship, Brajraj Dev now picked up a quarrel with the Bhangi Chief who had taken possession of some of the territory belonging to Jammu Raj. Brajraj Dev wished to win back this lost territory, and he therefore applied to Jai Singh and Hakikat Singh, Kanhiya Chiefs, for aid. Karianwala, the disputed territory, was recovered by Brajraj Dey after pitched battle. But the Kanhiya Chiefs

4. *Ibid* fol. 214 a; Anon, *Tarikh-i-Jammu* (MS). fol. 65; Kahan Singh Balauria, *Torikh-i-Rajgan-Jammu wa Kashmir*, p. 73.
5. Forster, G., *A Journey*, London, 1808, p. 286.
6. *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 214 a.
7. Latif, S.M. *History of the Panjab*, p. 342.

then deserted their ally and went over to the Bhangis. Karianwala territory again passed to the Bhangis. The Sikhs did not stop with this success. They now invaded Jammu under Hakikat Singh, Gujar Singh, and Bhag Singh Ahluwalia. The Raja of Jammu called his friend, Mahan Singh Sukarchakia, to his aid but was signally defeated and agreed to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 30,000 to Hakikat Singh Kanhiya.[8]

Because of the lawlessness, plundering inroads of the misldars and draught, a severe famine broke out in territories in the middle of 1783 and ravaged the whole country for about a year. Compelled by the failure of revenue collection Brijraj Dev resorted to extortionist measures At the suggestion of his evil advisers he wielded the hand of opression by extracting heavy fines. The city dweltings and bazaars became plagued by his daily extortions.[9] Thus plagued by famine and oppression, people died in large numbers and started deserting towns and villages. Chaos and disorder appeared everywhere.

Taking advantage of this calamitous state of affairs at Jammu and on the pretext that tribute had fallen into arrears, the Kanhiya chieftains decided to attack Jammu. Hakikat Singh gained over Mahan Singh to his cause, and they determined to make an attack upon Jammu which was then one of the most flourishing and prosperous towns of the Punjab. It may be recalled that Maha Singh had previously made solemn vows of eternal friendship with Brijraj Dev by the ceremony of exchanging turbans, but the obligations he had then come under did not trouble the Sikh chieftain in view of the prospect of a sumptuous loot of the Dogra capital and country. The Kanhiya and Sukarchakia chiefs decided to join their forces near Jammu and to make a united attack and surprise the people at a juncture when they were badly hit by natural calamities. Ganesh Das attributes most of the misery of the people to a strange planet with a smoky tail which appeared in this part of the sky during this year.[10]

Brajraj Dev, lacking resources for resistanee. fled to the Trikota mountains to the north of Jammu and returned only after the invader had retreated with a rich prize. On Mahan Singh's approach the principal citizens of Jammu went forward to meet him and offered large presents, but this did not satisfy the avaricious Chief who could not be loyal to a temporary alliance with the Kanhiya chief for whom he had not waited to arrive. He decided to take action single-handed. He ordered his troops to plunder the place, an order which they carried out with the greatest alacrity. The city and palace of Jammu were plundered and sacked. The whole country around was also laid waste so that in a short time a most grievous famine broke out which

8. *Jour of Pb. Hist. Soc.*, vol. viii, 1920, p. 127.
9. *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 214 b,
10. *Rajdarshni*, SPM, fol. 215 a.

extended throughout the length and breadth of the land. Mahan Singh ransacked the State treasury and palaces with as much severity as he fleeced the bankers and merchants of the city.[11] An enormous amount of booty of all kinds were carried away, amounting, according to Prinsep, to two crores of rupses. "The fortunes of the Sukarchakia Misl were thus built on the ruins of this flourishing city."[12]

Bhai Gian Singh gives the date of this invasion by the Sikhs as 23rd Magh, S. 1843[13], corresponding to 5 February, 1787 which, no doubt, is incorrect. He confuses the last battle of Brijraj Dev with this event, which, according to Sohan Lal and Khushwaqt Rai took place in the early years of his reign (and he ruled only for five years). Ganesh Dass records the date 27th Katik S. 1841[14] (9 November, 1784) which sounds more plausible.

One cause of the discomfiture of the people of Jammu was the treachery of the dispossessed Bahu chief, Kundan Dev and Shahzada Dev, who helped the invaders and rendered them every possible service. In return for this invaders entrusted them the Bahu fort and principality.[15] The Sikhs were in possession of Jammu and its dependencies for about two months, during which period Sardar Gujar Singh of Gujrat remained in occupation of Ramgarh, Gajansu, Bajwat and Manawar. Araniya, Salehr Sayedpur and adjoining territories were grabbed by Sardar Bhag Singh Halluwalia. Thumb and Bahadurpur Zenda were usurped by Gurbakhsh Singh and Jodh Singh of Wazirabad. The Ranjitgarh fort and Chaprar *ilaqa* was entrusted to Bhog Singh Bari and Gulab Singh, whereas the *itaqa* of Bhadwal fell to the hands of Sardar Dal Singh Gill[16]. Jammu seems to have been occupied by Sardar Mahan Singh.[17]

The Bahuwals had joined the interests of the invaders. Mian Alam Singh of Akhnur also retired to his estate, withdrawing form the struggle However, Mian Mota Singh and Zorawar Singh remained loyal to their ruler even in his fallen fortunes and wandered about in the Dansal hills in attendance on Raja Brijraj Dev. Both of them continued brave struggle against the invaders and encouraged people to harass Sikh armies of occupation who did find their new acquisitions congenial. Finally, Mian Mota Singh offered submission on behalf of Raja Brijraj Dev and agreed to pay tribute to Sardar Mahan Singh at Amritsar, obtained evacuation of Jammu territories and got it

11. Latif, S.M. : *Hist* of the Pb. pp. 342.3 : Hutchison and Vohel ; *Hist. of Pb. Hill. States*, p. 547. ; Dr. Gupta H. R *Hist. of the Sikhs* vol. iii p. 32.
12. Prinsep-*His. of the Pb.* vol i. p. 245 ff.
13. Bhai Gyan Singh. *Twarikh-i-Guru Khalsah*. Pt. III, p. 51.
14. *Rajdarshni*, SPM. fol. 218 a.
15. *Rajdarshani*, SPM, fol. 219 a.
16. *Ibid*, SPM. fol. 19 a, 19 b.
17. Kahan Singh Balauria, *op, cit., p.* 73.

confirmed on Brijraj Dev[18]. After dispossesing the Jammu territories of its wealth and due to famine conditions the Sikh chiefs did not relish the possession any longer, and retired to the plains to indulge in mutual warfare unhindered, leaving behind the impoverished and bleeding population to the care of the imbecile Dogra chief who readily came out of his hide-out in the wake of the withdrawal of Sikh forces.

2. Political Condition of Jammu State.

The Jammu State was thus weakened by dissensions in the ruling family. After the sack of Jammu the prestige and fame of the house of Ranjit Dev disappeared ; Brijraj Dev was left helpless and without resources. With the protecting power of the Chief of Jammu broken, the constituent units of the Dogra State were left defenceless, and that helpless state they looked towards the neighbouring Sikh Chiefs for help. Soon the Sikh power which had grasped all the Panjab plains by this time, devoured these petty Hill States one by one, so that the central authority of the Dogra State disappeared till that time when it was re-established by the skill of Maharaja Gulab Singh.

According to Forster the State at that time included the whole mountain area northward to the river Chinab where it borded with Kashtwar and Bhadarwah then under Chamba. Chaneni and Bhoti were tributory to Jammu. To the east the State of Mankot, Bhadu and Basohli were dependencies of Jammu, Jasrota had a similar status, but Samba had long ago become a part of Jammu. The total revenue of the State was then about five lakhs of rupees.[19] But after this invasion "the soverignty of the House of Dhruv Dev over the surrounding country disappeared," but Brijraj Dev was still in possession of the Jammu town and fort and continued to maintain the form and court of petty royalty. The hilly districts of the interior remained in the possession of the other members of the family who held them as Jagirs.[20] Brijraj also kept semblance of sovereignty over several hill states, including Basohli, Chamba and Nurpur. In several disputes among these states he dispensed their cases in the capacity of their overlord. A number of letters in Takari bear this out. In one instance, Raja Raj Singh of Chamba revived his claim on Bhalai, Jhunda, Bhandal, Kehar and Dieur *parganas*, then in possession of Basohli, and applied to Brijraj Dev for help. Brijraj Dev, recognising his claim, wrote to Raja Bijya Pal of Basohli to restore to Chamba these disputed villages. When the latter did not comply with his orders, Brijraj Dev wrote to him another letter on 18 Bhadon, 1841 (1st. September, 1784) and got his orders, carried out by force of arms.[21]

18. *Rajdarshani*, SPM. fol. 219 b.
19. Hutchison and Vogel : *The Hist. of Pb. Hill S ates*, pp. 548.9.
20. Panikkar, K.M. : *The Founding of the Kashmir State* p. 14.
21. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, *documents Nos.* C—30, C—31, C—32 ; Kahan Singh Billauria, *op.*, cit p. 73.

But thsse dissensions, among the tributaries of Jammu Raj led to the further political implications and Brijraj Dev failed to handle the situation prudently. When on his support Raja Raj Singh of Chamba invaded Basohli, seized its capital, sacked the country and realised a fine of one lakh rupees, the Raja of Basohli invited a body of the Sikhs to expel the Chamba forces from his State. The Sikhs came, turned out the invaders, but refused to withdraw[22]. On the 10th. April, 1783, George Forster, in the disguise of a Muslim merchant, crossed the Ravi to Basohli. He found the Sikhs master of the country. He writes : "The Sicques were called in to repel the enemy and defend the fort of Bissouly, but after performing the required service, they became pleased with their new situation, and refused to relinquish it.[23]

Basohli principality was thus lost. and so also were the several *parganahs* situated in the Panjab plains. Among the Bhangi and Sukarchakia Chiefs there was a scramble for the disintegrating Dogra kingdom cemented into a strong political entity by the effort of Dhruv Dev and Ranjit Dev. The Sikhs soon penetrated into other portions of the outer Hill regions. After occupying Basohli in 1873 they laid their hands on Ramnagar also. Sardar Karam Singh Dulo, Gulab Singh and other Bhangi Sardars collected their men on the South-western borders and finally attacked Ranjit Garh fort and set seige to it.[24] Sardar Dal Singh, an officer of Sardar Mahan Singh, came forward to check them. Brijraj Dev also came out to fight against these Bhangi chiefs of the Sialkot district on the issue of Ranjitgarh Fort.[25] The forces of both sides met at Rumal, but without any gain for the Raja of Jammu who fell dead in the battlefield. Mian Man Singh, Ram Singh, Amolak Singh, Kishan Singh and a number of other Rajput warriars fought for his honour and died in the Battlefield. The Sikh chiefs sent his dead body to Jammu where all his queens and concubines burnt themselves alive on his bier, with the exceptions of the Hiuntal Rani who had a one-year old male child, the successor of Brijraj Dev.

Ganesh Dass places this event on the 13th April, 1787, the Baisakhi day[26]. He also informs us that "opposite the village Pindi, in the space lying between the villages Rumal and Kanpur, there is a raised *tharha* (cenotaph) which marks the spot where he laid down his life."[27] The event was one of the considerable importance as it marks the date when it may be said the power of the Sikhs was fully established in this submontane region only twenty-five miles from

22. Gupta, Dr. Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. III, p. 25.
23. Forster, G., *A Journey*, Vol. I. pp. 270—71, *JPHS*, iv. 1916, p. 93.
24. *Rajdarshani*, SPM. fol. 220 a.
25. *Gulabnama*, p. 83.
26. Cf. *Rajdarshani*, SPM. fol. 222 a, which states that it "took place on the first of the month of Vaisakh on the Vaisakhi day of Samvat 1844 Bikrami, corresponding to the shastri year 1963."
27. *Ibid*, fol. 222 a.

Jammu, now the capital of Kashmir territory. The whole country, added to the hill chiefship during the successful reign of Ranjit Dev was thus at once appropriated by the Sikhs,"[28] Brjraj Dev thus made supreme sacrifice to retrieve his former dominions, but he could not succeed though he made amends by his blood for the folly of inviting the Sikhs to interefere in the Dogra States, not realising what the shrewed observer Forster saw through on a similar situation at Basohli (just described above) "Though this be the invariable result of every connection made with the Sicques, the infatuated mountaineers never fail to seek their aid when engaged in war."[29]

II. SAMPURAN DEV (A.D. 1787 to 1797 A.D.)

Brijraj Dev's son Sampuran Dev, who was hardly a year old, was appointed Raja on the advice of the chiefs of the state and the reins of administration remained vested in the hands of Mian Mota, the eldest son of Surat Singh brother of Maharaja Ranjit Dev. Mian Mota as '*Madarul Maham*' of the state set himself to the reorganisation of the affairs which had fallen into chaos. He ingratiated troops to himself by paying them off their arrears. He probably won over the favour of the Sukerchakia Chief Mahan Singh, who possessed a large military force estimated by Browne in 1786 at 15,000 horse and 5,000 foot in Rachna Doab, and about 5,000 horse and foot in the Chaj and Sindsagar Doabs.[30] The Bhangis and Kanhiya were equally considerable military confedaracies. With such powerful neighbours, the shrinking Jammu Raj rent with internal dissensions, presented an inviting situation for interference by these chiefs who were ever desirous of grabbing its territories, and helped the muttually hostile factions at Jammu court.

The first challenge to the authority of Mian Mota Singh was posed by Mian Badan Singh and his companions. They were in league with Sardar Dhanna Singh Khalsah and Diwan Dhanpat Rai Puri,[31] managers of the Kanhiya Sikh Chief, Sardar Jaimal Singh, the most powerful rival of Mahan Singh Sukarchakia. The Kanhayas considered it a golden opportunity to establish their influence on Jammu and encouraged the rival faction to revolt. Badan Singh and his companions. therefore, picked up a quarrel with Mian Mota Sjngh. Consequently, a clash of arms and exchange of fire took place near Haveli Begam at the Nathwalia tank. In this battle Bhupa, the elder brother of Mian Mota Singh, and Shamsher Singh, younger brother of Badan Singh, were killed along with a number of soldiers on either side [32] However, hostilities did not cease and it became a daily affair. The factions would now and then carry away the infant king and declare their own rule. In

28. *Sialkot District Gazeteer*, p. 18, *JPHS*, iv, 1916, p. 93.
29. Forster, George, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 270—271.
30. Imamud Din has put it at 22,000 horse and foot, cf. *India Tracts*, ii, (xii); *Husain Shahi*, pp. 235, 237.
31. *Rajdarshani*, SPM. fol, 223 b.
32. *Ibid.*

great distress Mian Mota Singh had to tender submission of the Jammu Raj to the Sukarchakia Chief Mahan Singh, and with his help he quelled lawlessness and eradicated revolt. He brought all the treasures and revenues under his control. He successfully appeased the leaders of his community by bestowing jagirs on them. He also called Jit Singh, son of Dalel Singh, from Jasrota and conferred on him a substantial jagir at Jangahnu.[33] By these measures he abated factionalism and restored law and order in the state, but the state had to owe allegiance and annual tribute to the Sukarchakias. When in 1795 Timur Shah, son of Ahmad Shah Durrani, invaded the Panjab, people of that country took shelter in Jammu territory. Mian Mota Singh helped them in every way and treated them with respect and care. He thus earned their gratitude and became known for his resolution, enterprising spirit and kind disposition.[34]

The Duranis also claimed a shadowy supremacy over the Hill States. Sampuran Dev's name occurs in a *sanad* of Raja Jit Singh of Chamba from Shah Zaman of Kabul, dated in January 1797, in which the Raja of Chamba has been enjoined "to perform the services of the *Diwani* in conjunction with Sampuran Dev of Jammu."[35] This rescript he issued when he invaded the Panjab. This, however, had no effect, as on his withdrawal to Afghanistan the Sikhs again became supreme[36] It seems that the greatest supporters of the Durrani were the last two Jammu rulers who tried to salvage their declining principality by professing allegiance to Kabul. When Shah Zaman entered Lahore on 1st. January, 1797, he ordered his wazir a letter to be addressed to the Raja of Jammu.[37] Probably it is this letter of investiture which has been referred to by Ganesh Dass[38] "an imperial letter and a dignified '*khilat*' of Jammu Raj was received in the name of Raja Sampuran Singh". The minor Raja was too glad to receive imperial acknowledgement of his right to the throne of Jammu. He ran to the Gumat Gate to receive the *khilat*, pulled it over his body and tugged the imperial letter in his turban as something most sacred and strutted through the bazars, followed by a couple of Afghan officers and footmen. Not only Jammu was confirmed on him but territories of Manawar, Bajwat, Thub, Chaprar, Ramgarh and Zafarwal were also confirmed on him as before.[39]

But the whole affair proved very short-lived. In the battle fought eleven days later, on the 12th January, the Durranis were defeated and Shah Jaman evacuated Lahore that day and hurried across the Ravi on the 30th January. Thus the Panjab politics slipped back into the old grooves, and the Raja of Jammu had to content himself with tendering

33. *Ibid.* fol, 224 a.
34. *Ibid*, fol. 224 a.
35. *Cata. Bhuri Singh Museum*, Chamba, p. 76, No. C-46.
36. *JPHS*, Vol. viii, 1920, P. 129.
37. *Imperial Records, Persian Latters Received*, Nos. 71, 86.
38. *Rajdarshani*, SPM. fol. 224 a.
39. *Ibid.* 224 a, 224 b.

his fealty to Ranjit Singh[40] Sukarchakia, who now led his Misl after his father Mahan Singh's death in 1794. The Afghan-Sikh struggle was going on, but there was not much hope for the Afghan ruler whose own throne of Kabul was not secure. The Raja of Jammu, however, like so many other chiefs of the Panjab plains and Hill country looked towards Kabul for their deliverance from Sikh dominance. A newsletter written from Kabul to the East India Company on the 29th May, 1797, records the presence of the *Vakils* of the Rajas of Jammu and Kangra, and of Bhambu Khan Rohilla, who waited on Shah Zaman with presents and informed him of the political situation in northern India.[41] The express object of sending *Vakils* to Kabul by Jammu and Kangra is not known, but it could be easily an invitation to Shah Zaman against the activities of the Sikh chiefs, which was perhaps accepted but could not be acted upon till the close of the next year when political situation in the Panjab had grown so serious as to require Shah Zaman's personal presence in this land.

Soon after this, the boy Prince Sampuran Dev died at an age of eleven, after being on the *gaddi* for ten years. With him Brijraj Dev's line was cut, and in June, 1797 Jit Singh, son of Dalel Singh and grandson of Maharaja Ranjit Dev, was enthroned at Jammu by the courtiers and the neighbouring Rajas.[42]

III. JIT SINGH (Acc. June, 1797).

The riegn of Jit Singh opened with bright prospects. He continued to correspond with Shah Zaman of Kabul who was the mainstay of the policy of last Jammu rulers. The Shah moved his arms towards the Panjab in November, 1798 and arrived at Gujrat on the 18th, November. From here he directed a detachment towards Dinanagar. The vanguard was led by the son of Shahanchi Bashi. The Shah wrote to Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and the Raja of Jammu desiring them not to allow the Sikh families to take refuge in the Hills.[43]

But the Raja of Jammu did not comply with the wishes of Shah Zaman, and had even sided with the Sikhs against the Shahanchi Bashi. On the 23nd Nobember, 1798, therefore, Shah Zaman sent a detachment with a letter to the Raja of Jammu, demanding an explanation for his having joined the Sikhs against his eommander, to pay the usual tribute, and to attend upon in person. Jit Singh received troops with profession of loyalty and obedience. He wrote back that he and his ancestors had always been the slaves of the royal household, and that he never had the audacity to assist the Sikhs in plundering His Majesty's troops.

40. *Husain Shahi*, p. 234, States that the Raja of Jammu was under Ranjit Singh's suzerainty in 1795. The work informs us that in that year Ranjit Singh's dominions yielded him an annual revenue of thirty lakhs of rupees.

41. *Imperial Records, Political proceedings*, 21st August 1797, No. 10.

42. *Imperial Records, Persian Letters Received*, No. 393, 27th July, 1797.

43. *Imperial Records, Foreign Department*, No. 17, 24th Dec., 1798.

He also expressed his readiness to pay the tribute. He despatched Mian Musa. the suprintendent of his household, to Shah Zaman.[44]

But in spite of his professions of loyalty and service, Jit Singh did not help him against his countrymen. With the advance of Shah Zaman towards Lahore, Sikh chiefs and population were ejected and they took refuge in the Jammu Hills. Tara Singh and Sahib Singh Bedi were near the Hills where were stationed, 000 horse with 21 pieces of cannon. Nearly two lakhs of fugitives had also gone in that direction. The Raja of Jammu pretended to be obedient to the Durani, but he was not prepared to betray or oppress the fugitives in his country.[45] This was in continuation of the policy towards refugees so well laid down by Maharaja Ranjit Dev, However, when Shah Zaman had occupied Lahore fort on the 30th, November, 1798, the *Vakil* of the Jammu with a letter and a *nazar* of 101 rupees from his master waited upon Shah Zaman.[46] The Vakil of Jammu ruler was probably Nathu Singh, whose name is mentioned in Imperial Records[47] among the several Zamindars of note who were detained at Lahore by Shah Zaman with a view to secure their assistance in dealing with the Sikhs. Shah Zaman had to beat a hasty retreat to Kabul where his own position on the throne had been undermined.

Except for these initial manoeuverings of political moves and counter-moves, Jit Singh proved an incompetent man. His Brandrali Rani was an ambitious, intriguing woman. She took the management of state affairs in her own hands. Differences, therefore, arose between her and Mian Mota "on the issue of the conduct of wazarat." the latter transferring his habitat from Jammu to Purmandal. Mian Zorawar Singh, grand-father of Maharaja Gulab Singh, also went to live at his Jagir of Diyavan. In 1800 A.D. Maharaja Ranjit Singh had taken possession of Lahore. The same year, taking advantage of the confusion at Jammu, he advanced on Jammu, but retired on the Raja's tendering his submission and presenting the customary tribute.[48] From this time the State became entirely subject to Lahore.

Jammu, however, continued to exist as a separate, subordinate principality, with a Raja of its own, and an autonomous court at Jammu. The people of the region, innured in martial tradition, constantly fought against the intruders from the Panjab plains. But the factionalism at Jammu court and the rivalry of the sagacious Mian Mota Singh and the headstrong Rani Bandrahli weakened the State and invited interference of Ranjit Singh's officers the details of which will be narrated in the following chapter. Here it suffices to know that Jammu was conquered by Sardar Hukma Singh Chimni in 1808 A.D., and was given

44. *Ibid.* No. 28, 24th Dec., 1799.
45. *Imperial Records*; Foreign Deptt., No. 28, the 24th, December, 1799.
46. *Imperial Records;* Political Proceeding, No. 11., the 14th, December, 1798.
47. *Imperial Records;* Political Proceedings 11th, January, 1799. Nos. 28, 33, 34.
48. Hutchison and voghel, *History of the Panjab Hill* States, p. 549.

over as jagir to Prince Kharak Singh in 1812 when Jit Singh was probably deposed from the position as ruler, and Jammu was annexed to Ranjit Singh's kingdom. But Sir Lepel Griffin gives 1816 as the date of the final subversion of the State and its annexation to the Sikh kingdom. His two sons, Raghbir Singh and Devi Singh, were conveyed to British territory. After the annexation of the Panjab they were assigned a Jagir at Akhrota near Dinanagar in the Gurdaspur District, where their descendants still reside.[49]

Thus ended the sovereignty of the House of Dhrov Dev but before extinguishing it had enkindled the spark of freedom in the young Gulab Singh and Mian Dido, who took up the cudgel and strove for the independence of Jammu in their own way, in which they were at last successful.

49. Hutchison and Voghel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, p. 550; Sir L. Griffin, *Panjab chiefs*.

CHAPTER NINE

The Re-emergence of Dogra Raj

1. THE SIKH OCCUPATION OF JAMMU.

Ranjit Singh had extended his sway to the very border of the *Dogra* principality. Probably during the year 1808 he had succeeded in taking *Pathankot*. He went to *Jasorota* fixed a tribute of 8,000 rupees per annum on the Raja of *Basohli* and a similar amount on the *Chamba*. The town and fort of *Sialkot* was also acquired from *Jiwan Singh*. The ring of subjection was thus narrowing around Jammu and it could not escape the tightening coil for long. The annexation of Jammu by Ranjit Singh could be anticipated by the internal dissensions at the Dogra court.

Raja Jit Singh[1], 'a simple-minded raw youth' could not run administration of the country properly[2]. On account of his sloth and uninitiativeness all the chiefs becan e headstrong. This internal lawlessness invited Ranjit Singh for further encroachment on *Dogra* territory.

After dispossessing Jiwan Singh from Sialkot, Ranjit Singh had appointed *Sardar Hukam Singh Chimni* incharge of territory bordering on *Jammu* principality. Sohan Lal, states that in A.H. 1224/A.D. 1808, Raja of Jammu, in a desire to attain the honour of attending on the great King reconciled himself with Hukam Singh and surrendered the fort of *Saidgarh* to his troop. This act of the Raja was probably not approved of by *Mian Mota*. *Ganesh Dass* states that "Mian Mota held his tongue on the action of the Raja and said nothing to him,"[4] whereas *Sohan Lal* clearly states that the Raja supplicated that Mian Mota and others on his side do not agree with him in 'word and meaning', therefore, they should be dispossessed and ejected and de facto possession be established on Jammu[5].

The situation reveals the differences prevailing in the Dogra Court, which encouraged the Sikh commander to lead an expedition towards

1. Ganesh Dass writes ; "Raja Jit Singh keh ura Jaid Singh hum nawisand" Raja Jit Singh who is also spelt as Jaid Singh, Cf. *Rajdarshani*, British Museum Manuscript, folio 260 a.
2. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*, British Museum, MS., folio 260 a.
3. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Daftar II, p. 9 ; Cf. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*, MS. B.M. fol. 260 b.
4. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*, *op. cit.* fol. 260 b.
5. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *op. cit.*, Daftar II, p. 9.

Jammu and commence plundering and ravaging the territory.[6] The invaders were able to cross the Tawi and almost reached the *Gumat gate.*

On the other side, Mian Mota reacted to the situation promptly. He held consultation with the *Rani Bandrahli*, and organised stiff resistance in which many lost their lives and many were wounded[7]. *Mian Gulab Singh* and *Dhian Singh* together with their father *Kishore Singh*, were also among the number. These men wist a trusty band of their own followers were appointed to protect one of the gateways of the city named Goendwala. Hukam Singh encountered a warm reception. Both parties fought desperately. At last the invaders were defeated and obliged to flight. In the course of this action *Gulab Singh* was distinguished for his energy and bravery[9]. The defence was to some extent successful, and Gulab Singh's role in it was no mean one, Hukam Singh had to withdraw his forces to *Saidgarh*. But the invaders were in superior numbers and at last they overcame the Dogra resistance, and soon Jammu passed under the control of Ranjit Singh's officers. Mian Mota was made "*Madar-ul-Maham*" of Jammu[10] by the Sikhs as they realised how difficult it was for them to keep the Jamwals under their direct rule[11].

Mian Mota cooperated with the Sikhs in the conquest of the territory, and included them even to cross the Chenab and invade Akhnur, Deva Batala and the Chib and Bhaw territorties.

Soon after, in the month of Magh (January, 1809), Ranjit went to Jasrota, and levied contributiions. He next proceeded to Basohli and exacted 8,000 rupees from the rajah as an annual tribute, besides a *nazurana*. The latter amounted to 25,000 rupees.[12]

Ranjit Singh's political influence thus extended to the southern belt of the *Dogra* principalities, from Jasrota and Basohli in the east to Akhnur and *Deva Batala* in the west. His discomfiture in the cis-*Sutlej* territories resulting in the circumscription of his ambition by the Treaty of *Amritsar* of 1809, diverted all his energies towards the north Hill States. His simultaneous success against the *Gurkhas* in Kangra and the surrender to him of the famous Kangra fort by *Sansar Chand Katoch* in the same year changed his outlook regarding *Dogra and Katoch* principalities. Instead of plundering and devastating them, he started grabbing them and strengthen his hold on them. Very soon these states accepted his political supremacy and *Raja Jit Singh* seems to have accepted *Ranjit Singh's* overlordship by A.D. 1810.

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6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs aud Afghhans*, p. 91.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh.* Daftar II, p. 68.
11. According to Sohan Lal Mian Mota had informed Maharaja Ranjit Singh that "the Rajputs will lay down their lives for the sake of honour and prestige"—*Ibid.*, p. 92.
12. M. Gregor, W.L., *History of the Sikhs*, reprint, Patiala 1970, p. 159.

In 1811-12 Ranjit Singh placed Prince *Kharak Singh* at the head of a large force and sent him against Jammu, *Akhnur and Bhimber* for effective occupation of these territories[13], in which task he was successful. Kharak Singh's success seems to have resulted from dissensions in the Dogra royal house. *Rani Bhandrahli*, seeing the Raja helpless and without initiative usurped the government of Jammu and issued her own orders. She made *Mian Hoshiara*, *Mohar Singh Jandraia* and *Diwan Singh Khalkimandiwala* her advisers and *peshkars*. *Mian Mota*, however, was not prepared to submit to the '*purdah* regime ! He joined interests with Raja Jit Singh. Consequently, the court became divided in two factions—Mian Mota and Raja Jit Singh on one side and the Rani and her advisers on the other—which led to dual government. "The people of the town became distressed at the hands of the two masters and the administration of the country los: all cohesion". The Mian, however, outwitted his rivals by winning *Sardar Dul Singh's* support for the faction of the Raja. The Mian then went to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and undertook to pay Rs. 50,000 in the form of *nazarana*, in case he was vested with full powers. He thus brought with him a Sikh force and with their assistance he brought all the *talluqas*, including Bhoti, Samartah, Chanehni and Bandralta, back to subjection. In five or six months he succeeded in restoring law and order in all the territories and was able to remit Rs. 50,000 as promised, in addition to a piece of brass, to the Maharaja[15]. The Mian removed the cause of disturbances by placating and appeasing the Jamwal chiefs and by fixing separate allowances for the Raja and the Rani for their subsistence. He even conferred Janganu *talluqa* as jagir on the Rani and induced her to live in the palace at Jammu and brought about reconciliation between the two.[16] By this diplomacy the Mian sought to remove the cause of disunion in Jammu court.

The Rani Bandrahli, however, was nor reconciled to Mian Mota's superior position and could not forgive him for the murder of her father-in-law, Mian Dalel Singh. So the cause of ill-will was not removed and the servants of the Rani did not refrain from instigation. Meanwhile, the news of the arrival of Prince Kharak Singh and Bhayia Ram Singh at Purmandal reached the instriguing Rani. She entered into secret league with the Prince and invited him to occupy Jammu, her only object being to dispossess Mian Mota of his position. The Prince found a favourable opportunity in the mutual dissenions of the Jammu royal family for an easy possession of the Dogra capital. So he led his troops on Jammu via Chah-e-Tutan and alighted at Nagrota[17], some 6 miles to the north of Jammu in the Tawi valley. The Mian, however, proved more than a match for his rivals

13. Bhai Gian Singh Giani, *Tawarikh-i-Guru Khalsa*, Vol. III, p. 105 ; Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and Panjab.*
14. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*, B.M. M.S., fols. 262 b—263 a.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.* fol. 264 a.
17. *Gulab.*, 59.

He at once offered submission on behalf of Raja Jit Singh to avoid bloody but useless resistance and welcomed the Prince to Jammu. ConsequenlyPrince Kharak Singh entered the royal palaces of Jammu on 1st July, 1811[18] and effected a peaceful occupation of the place. Raja Jit Singh willingly offered his submission and also seems to have agreed to withdraw his hand from administration. Ranjit Singh instructed the Prince that Mian Mota Singh should manage administrative and financial affairs and a few villages worth a revenue of twelve thousand rupees, sufficient for subsistence, be granted in jagir to the Raja".[19] The jagir of Janganu was, therefore, conferred on the Raja, and the administration was conducted in accordance to the counsels of Mian Mota, who was retained as Minister and a *rusum* of two annas a rupee was granted to him on all state revenues collected.[20]

After settllng his affairs at Jammu Prince Kharak Singh left for Lahore attended by Bhayia Ram Singh. They left behind their own officers, commandant Nain Singh as *thanadar* with two platoons of soldiers and Diwan Jit Singh Kalal as *nazim*. In the beginning the two officers managed everything satisfactorily in consultation with Mian Mota. All the rebels and self willed Mians submitted and cooperated. Mian Mota was a popular chief. He had been the *Madar-ul-maham* or administrator since the aceession of Raju Sampuran Dev in 1787. "He was a man of maturity, wisdom and understanding[21]." Because of his ability the Mian soon bocame a great favourite with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This rising popularity of the Mian with the ruler of Lahore excited the jealousy of Rani Bandrahli and Prince Kharak Singh's officers at Jammu. The Rani made the imprudent Diwan believe that so long as Mian Mota had his finger in the matter, management would not take proper shape[22]. Mian Diwan Singh Riasiwala and others who were enemies of Mian Mota, also curried favour with the Diwan, and it was decided to remove Mian Mota. Bahyia Ram Singh also gave his consent for doing away with the Mian.[23]

A conspiracy was, therefore, set afoot to assassinate Mian Mota in which the Rani, Mian Diwan Singh, and Diwan Jit Singh Kalal became accomplices. On the 9th of Har, V.S. 1868 (11th May, 1813) Charnu and Sheru Naraynia took ambush on a balcony of the Deodhi of the palace, as directed by Mian Diwan Singh, and the Mian (Diwan Singh) concealed himself nearby along with two others, Trehru and Jagatu[24]. Diwan Jit Singh Kalal and commundant Nain

18. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani, op. cit.*, fol, 265 b-266 a.
19. Gulab , Eng. tr 1977, p. 60 ; *Rajdarshani, op. cit.*, fol. 266 a.
20. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshni*, op. cit., fol. 266 b.
21. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Daftar 11 , p. 68.
22. *Gulab*, Eng. trans., 1977 p. 6I.
23. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*, op, cit. fol. 267 b.
24. *Ibid,*

Singh took their seat in the government office and sent for Mian Mota ostensibly for holding consultations. As soon as the Mian entered the office they told him that the meeting had been postponed for the next day, so the Main returned. No sooner had he turned his back than two muskets were discharged on him from the hole. One bullet struck the Mian in the neck and he fell down. At once Mian Diwan Singh and Trehru leaped out of their hiding place and hacked him with their swords.[25]

Thns was Mian Mota murdered in cold blood, after being supreme administrator of the Dogra state for about 27 years. Sohan Lal seems to hold a high opinion of him and calls him a man of maturity, comprehension, cunning and resourcefulness.[26] Ganesh Dass writes that after him peace left the town and mismanagement engulfed the country. This misdeed recoiled on its doers. The Rani Bandrahli found ground slipping from under her feet and felt the storm of adversity gathering around her. She therefore, surrepticiously crossed the Sutlej and went over to the British side along with her three sons. Lawlessness was let loose in Jammu and administration went out of gear[27]. Consequently, Raja Jit Singh, Mian Diwan Singh and others were called to Lahore and Trehru and Jagatu (or Sathru) also accompanied them where Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh avenged themselves by killing them.[28]

The Sikh administrators were the worst sufferers. Mian Mota's association with the administration had assuaged the bitterness of an alien rule. But with his murder that camouflage was removed and direct Sikh rule came to be resented by the mountaineers who rose against Sikh dominance everywhere as the later events show.

Although Jammu had been made a tributary in 1808 yet Sikh force of occupation could not be stationed there. It was in May 1812 that Prince Kharak Singh succeeded in occupying it. The same year the Kanwar was honoured with a grant of Jammu, Akhnur and Bimber as Jagir. Kharak Singh, however, did not fulfil his father's expectations. He could not maintain his hold on these territories. Sultan Khan of Bhimber rebelled, and Bhai Ram Singh was sent against him The Sikhs were routed in a bloody encounter and lost hundreds in killed and wounded. Diwan Mohkam Chand was thereupon sent to take over command and he succeeded in establishing peace.[29] The chief was treacherously imprisoned, and Bhai Ram Singh was sent to

25. *Ibid.*, folios 268 a-268 b.
26. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Daftar II, 68, and 92.
27. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdurshani*, Br. Museum MS., folio 269 a, b.
28. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*. op. cit , folio 270 a-270 b ; Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, pp. 112-113 ; Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans*, op. cit., pp. 92-93 ; H.M. Lawrence, *Adventures of an officer in the Punjab, reprint*, Patiala, 1970, pp. 33-34.
29. M'Gregor, W.L., *History of the Sikhs*, p. 168.

introduce Ranjit Singh's authority in his territory. No sooner had he accomplished this object than he began to make irruptions into the Rajouri territory. Aghar Khan, the Raja of Rajouri, was assisted by the rulers of Punch and Kashmir, and after a fierce but indecisive battle Ranjit Singh's troops rerurned to Lahore without success.[30]

During the same, year A.D. 1812, Ranjit Singh's artillery officer, Ghausa Darogha, over-ran and conquered the territories of Kathua and its vicinity, and subjugated Taragarh and Nurpur. Meanwhile Ranjit Singh himself once again visited the hill territory of Jasrota, Basohli, Bhaddu and Samba by conquest[31]. On the death of Raja Ajab Singh of Jasrota, his son Lal Dev was recognised as a subordinate vassal on payment of one Lakh rupees to Ranjit Singh.[32].

Jit Singh, seems to have retained his title and prerogative of a Raja for a few years more. He was addressed as "Raja of Jammu" even in official correspondence in the years A.D. 1813 end 1815[33]. He held a subordinate position and he was summoned by Ranjit Singh to his presence when he required his vassals to send their levies on his advance towards Peshawar in Augst 1813. On the 22th October, 1813, the *Vakil* of Raja Jit Singh of Jammu presented himself before Ranjit Singh and informed "that his master had collected all his troops, and would present himself before Ranjit Singh whenever he would be required to do so. Ranjit Singh asked him to send for him." We hear of the Raja of Jammu for the last time in a letter of the 30th, October, 1815 A.D. When "Ranjit Singh sent one horse out of kindness to the camp of the Raja of Jammu for his use."[34] The Raja was perhaps present in Ranjit Singh's camp at Sialkot on that day.

Raja Jit Singh was deposed in the following year, i.e., A.D. 1816 possibly on his own request[35] and Jammu state was annexed to the Lahore Kingdom of which it became a district under the control of Prince Kharak Singh and his Agent Bhai Ram Singh. We hear nothing about Raja Jit Singh of Jammu after his deposition. But he was living definitely upto the 13th of Har of the Bikrami year 1879 (June-July, 1822) when he signed a declaration renouncing all his rights and those of his successors to his ancestral state of Jammu in favour of Rajas Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh.

The Dogra Resentment :

The administration of Jammu territories by the Sikh officers was

30. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikh and Afghans*, reprint, Patiala, 1971, pp. 97-98.
31. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 129-130.
32. Gian Singh, *Tawarikh-i-Guru Khalsa*, Vol. III, p. 113.
33. *Punjab Government Record Office Publications, Monograph No.* 17 (1935) p. 86, letter dated 2-8-1813, p. 101, letter dated 26-9-1813, p. 106, letter dated 22-10-1813, p. 221, letter dated 30-10-1815.
34. *Ibid*, p. 221, letter dated 30-10-1815.
35. *Document D/25, No. 14/490*, State Archieves, Patiala.

very much resented by the local population. particularly the Jamwals who had been rulers of the land for long. The freedom-loving people of Samba and the rugged parts of Jammu had risen in revolt against the Sikhs, as early as 1810 A D. The leader of the rebels was Mian Dido, a Jamwal Rajput whose depredations made it impossible for the Sikh officers to keep an effective control even on the Jammu town and its suburbs.. Ranjit Singh, therefore sent a considerable force under Diwan Bhawni Dass to conquer Jammu and to supress the Dogra rebel who was virtually ruling over Jammu at that time. That able general carried on military operations for about a month and expelled Mian Dido from Jammu and brought the town under Ranjit's control. He also established a *thana* at Saidgarh.[36] This event took place in July-August, 1810 A D. But the unrest seems to have continued and Prince Kharak Singh had to be put at the head of a large force and an expendition was sent against Jammu again in the year 1812 A.D.[37] Bhayia Ram Singh and Bhawani Dass led the forces. The expendition met with some success, and the districts of Jammu, Akhnur and Bhimber were brought under control and were offered as Jagir to Prince Kharak Singh.[38] But the affairs of Jammu could not be properly settled and discontent against Sikh occupation continued gathering momentum, so that a newsletter dated 15th December, 1814 (2nd Zihaj, 1229 A.H) contains the information that Bhayia Ram Singh and Kanwar Kharak Singh presented themselves before Ranjit Singh and were questioned about the district of Jammu. Ram Singh replied that "disturbance and unrest prevailed there." Reinforcements might have been despatched but things could not be improved. On 26th Aguust, 1815 Bhayia Ram Singh had to state that "the condition of the district of Jammu was the same as before."[39]

Ranjit Singh's concern for Jammu was so great that he sent a note to Kanwar Kharak Singh ordering him to "write regularly about Diwan Singh Dudu."[40]

On demand from Bhayia Ram Singh five hundred rupees in cash were sent to Jammu through Dawende Khan of Kamona to meet the expenses of the former's troops and for the settlement of that district.

Prince Kharak Singh sent his troops to Jammu under Bhayia Ram Singh and later went there himself. He took steps to suppress the rising of the Jamwals. He immediately engaged himself in constructing a formidable fort and informed Ranjit Singh that he would

35. Gian Singh Giani, *Taworikn-i-Guru Khalsa*, Pt. III, p. 96.

37. Hugel, *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

38. Ibid., also M'Gregor, W.L., *op. cit.*, p. 169, Gian Singh, *Tawarikh-i Guru Khalsa*, Pt. III, p. 105.

39. *Punjab Government Record Office Publications*, *Monograph.* No. 17 letter No. 18, dated 26.8-1815., p. 213.

40. *Ibid.*, letter No. 21 of 18-9-1815, p. 219.

present himself to the "Noble Sarkar after completing his arrangements for the proper control and settlement of the country and the fort.[41]

But the arrangements of Lahore court to suppress the rebellion of the Jammu people and the leadership of Mian Dido completely failed beeause the Sikh contingents had probably become demoralised and were ill-equipped.

The rising had become so general and spread to the hills beyond Jammu and the plains west of the Chenab river, that it was reported in April 1817 that Dundu Dewan Singh[43] had annexed the country on the other side of Jammu tc his own possessions thereby enlisting the support of Zamindars of that district and creating a serious disturbance[44]. The people of Deva Batala also became recalcitrants, and Chibs and Bhows raised insurrection. Desa Singh Majithia and Amar Singh were deputed in that direction. They intimidated the Zamindars of that region to agree to pay Rs. 10,000 as revenue tax and to establish Ranjit's *thana* in various places belonging to them. Mangal Singh Kalawala had been deputed towards Jammu. Ranjit Singh had suggested him to allure Diwan Singh with the offer of a Jagir in Jammu, "and that if he (Diwan Singh) should thus be induced to come he should deal with him expeditiously."[45] The rebel leader Dido was at last captured by a stratagem and interned at Jammu, but he effected his escape. Thus the defiance of Sikh rule in Jammu territories continued, and as a retaliation Ranjit Singh moved armies across the Chenab and punished the Chib and Bhow, and burnt Deva Batala, their chief city.[46]

The rebels found a congenial home in Jammu hills which was till then a Jagir of Prince Kharak Singh. By then Dido's dapredations and his resistance against Sikh authority had become fabulous. He seems to have become a national hero for the freedom-loving Dogras. Mian Bhup Dev, Mian Jawahar Singh Agawaria and several others had joined his camp. Soon Dido became a scourage for the Sikh rulers and his exploits grew more daring as time passed till in the words of Ganesh Dass 'Law and order of the country could not be regulated; on the other hand it dissipated day after day, so that refractories became emboldened on all sides and rebels spread lawlessness."[47] Dido "took to hills, an outlawed robber, carrying murder and rapine through

41. *Ibid.*, letter No. 3 of 4-2-1816, p. 228.

43. Newsletter, dated 19th April, 1817—*Pb. Govt. Records Office Publications, Monograph No. 17* p. 264.

44 Newsletter, dated 18th May 1817——*Pb. Govt. Records Office Publications, Monograph No. 17*, p. 268.

45. Newsletter. dated 19th May 1817——*Pb. Govt. Record Office Publications, Monograph No. 17* (1935), p. 269.

46. M'Gregor, W.L., *op, cit.*, p. 188.

47. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*, BM MS., fol. 272 b,

the country, but reserving his special attentions for the district subject to the authority of Jammu "[48]

Sometimes in these exploits Dido was at the head of two thousand armed outlaws like himself, and sometimes accompanied by a few followers. There was a garrison of about two thousand men in Jammu, but "Deedoo hesitated not to attack the place on several occasions by night or by day, though his force sometimes numbered only fifty or sixty men. In one of these assaults he burnt down nearly the whole place and carried off a great part of the moveable property of the Sikh inhabitauts. After these exploits he would disappear as suddenly as he had come, Sikhs never ventured to pursue him. It is said that seldom fiftteen days passed without an achievement of this kind, and according to tradition Deedoo, fromtime to time, slew with his own hands above three hundred of his enemies, the Sikh.[49]

In about 1818, tired probably of his hectic life, and allured by promises of pardon from the Sikh authorities at Lahore and Jammu Dido surrendered himself into the hands of his enemies, but no sooner had he done so than suspecting treachery he set upon his guard, and made his escape killing five men of his escort. "He again returned to his wild predatory mode of life, and for about a year more, kept the country in so unquiet and disordered a state, that the Sikhs found it impossible to govern it or to realise their revenues from it."[50] From time to time several celebrated Sardars and Commanders of the Sikh army, such as Nain Singh Kumedon, Fateh Singh Man, Diwan Shankar Dass Dugal, Bhai Ram Singh, Newab Dewande Khan, Diwan Kirpa Ram Chopra, Sardar Atar Singh, Mohan Singh Sud, Narain Dass Pashaoria, Diwan Bhawani Dass Kuba (hunch back), Kanheya Mal Arora, Devi Sahai and Lala Dana Mal, were sent to Jammu with large force[51], but found themselves helpless in that affair. They imprisoned the chief men of the locality by a variety of stratagems and sent them to Lahore where they were kept prisoners for long. A few others were torn open their bowels. "Yet the Mian Dido affair aggravated day after day. His valorous deeds sent a panic in the Khalsa army : and the more blood they shed the more up flared the fire of rebellion. The warlike people showed no fear of the authority of the Khalsa government."

Ganeshi Lal had also recorded the tradition that Mian Dido, "a petty Jagirdar of Jugtee had not, however, allowed a peaceful possession of his new conquests," and was always plundering the country with a large gang of followers, killing the Sikh officials and

48. Smyth, G.C., *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, London, 1847, p. 253,

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-54.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Ganesh Dass, *Rajardarshani*, op. cit., fol. 273 a ; *Kripa Ram Gulabnama*, *op. cit* , p. 151.

functionaries, "and in short, had given Ranjit a great annoyance and trouble "[52]

The Maharaja was at last advised by his friends to select *Gulab Singh* and his brothers to punish their relation, Dido.[53] So the Dogra famiiy was chosen to rule in Jammu territories. G C. Smyth obser ves ; "The wily brothers found little difficulty in persuading the too partial Maharaja that in their hands only could the Government of their native district be satisfactorily carried on and so *Mian Kiskore Singh*, the father of the family was raised by the Sikh Chief to the Raj of Jammu "[54] Impressed by the military prowess and sagacity of Gulab Singh, *Ranjit* at last bestowed a *khilat* on him and put him at the head of Military expedition against Dido, assisted by Sardar Atar Singh Kalal, Jagat Singh Atariwala and other chiefs[55] Thus it was the political exigency that led Ranjit Singh to hand over the administration of the Dogra territory to this bold and loyal Dogra family which had by then distinguished themselves in several military expenditions and diplomatic transactions

The peace-loving hill people had not liked the rough and autocratic administration of Ranjit's officers and prince Kharak Singh's representatives Their exactions and arbitrary regulation directed only towards squeezing out money on any pretext possible, and above all their total disregard of the political conventions of the Dogras, made Sikh rule very unpopular not only in Jammu, but in all the hilly region. The Dogras had seen, since the days of Raja Shastri and Raja Mal Dev, a settled from of mild government responsive and sensitive to the will of the people, which had under the benign rule of Dhruv Dev and Ranjit Dev, developed into a paternal system founded on the tenets of the *shastras* and tradition. Consequently, Jammu territories had become well-known in northern India for peace and security. This condition was maintained even during the rule of the weak successors of Ranjit Dev, till it was suberted by the inroads of Sikh misls and the resultant Sikh dominance. The polity which Ranjit Singh had inherited, had evolved out of the predatory habits of the roving gangs. As pointed out by H. Brereton, in early days the Sardars or Misldar chiefs "were mere robbers, engaged in constant contests with their rival Misls, and surrounded by gangs of rufflans ready for any act of violence at the command of their master, or on their own behalf, and Ranjit had adapted the principle of "giving employment to the most daring and notorious robbers,"[56] in his soldiery. The plundering misl hordes had

52. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, Eng. tr. by V.S. Suri. Chandigarh, 1977, p 19. Cf Sohan Lal, *Umda tal-Twarikh*, Daftar II, 201 He also tes ifies to the depredations of Mian Dido Dogra.
53. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat i-Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 19.
54. Smyth, G.C., *A 66 Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, op. cit., p. 254. 55. *Gulab*,, pp 106—07.
55. *Gulab*,, pp. 106-07.
56. Brereton, H., *Selections from Public Correspondence of the Administration for the Affair of the Panjab*, Vol, I. p. 232.

entered the hills now and then like hungry wolves This naturally bred hatred towards the misls in the hills and when Ra jit Singh did not fare better, his rule could not be liked by the highlanders He failed to capture the fancy of the hill people used to the milder rule of kings descending from ancient lines and honouring the customs and usages established of yone. As compared to these Ranjit had nothing to commend than chivalry and brute force which had not yet been smoothered by diplomacy and administrative principles, as was done later in his reign, Ranjit's rule, therefore, could not be popular in hills and the *Paharis* everywhere sought deliverence from it. The Dogras being more virile and more numerous were more vocal in this sphere and were, therefore, first to rise against oppression. This seems to be the rationale of devolving the self-governing power on the Dogras. There seems to be other considerations as well which will find explanation in appropriate chapters

2. RISE OF THE "DOGRA RAJ"

The Dogra family to whom the administration of Jammu was entrusted later came to be known as Dogra Rajas and Dogra Brothers at the Lahore court. They belonged to a junior branch of the ruling family of Jammu, and were the direct descendants of Raja Dhrov Dev; who ruled in Jammu from about A.D 1703 to 1733 Dhruv Dev's immediate successor, the famous Ranjit Dev who died in 1782, had three brothers, viz., Ghansar Dev, Surat Singh and Balwant Singh. Surat Singh had two sons, Zorawar Singh, and Mian Mota.[57] From Zorawar Singh descended Kishore Singh, and from him Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh.

Gulab Singh was born on 5th Katak, 1849 Bikrami[58] (October 21, 1792 A. D.). Dhian Singh on 11th Bhadon, 1853 Bikrami (July 26, 1796 A.D., and Suchet Singh on 8th Magh, 1858 Bikrami (January 25, 1801 A D.).

Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh lived at Jammu with their uncle Mian Mota, who was *madur-ul-maham* or minister of that principality ruled over by *Raja Jit Singh* At that court which had a long established tradition of royalty, they learnt all the manners and ways of courtiers which later won them the favour and confidence of the Sikh Chief of Lahore. Their father, Kishore Singh, and the youngest brother Suchet Singh, resided at Ismailpur Deolly, a village seven or eight *kos* from Jammu on the road to Lahore, deriving their subsistence from the produce of a few acres of land.[59] Their grandfather, Zorawar Singh, was

57. Kirpa Ram, pp. 86 & 100. But G.C. Smyth gives the number of brothers as three and names them as.....Zorawar Singh, Meean Mota and Meean Jallah. (*See Hist of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, etc., p. 240). Shahamat Ali gives the names of four sons of Surat Singh, viz. Zorawar Singh, Mian Ditta, Mian Mita, and Mian Bbopa (*The Sikhs and Afghans*, p. 90).

58. Kirpa Ram, p. 88. G.C. Smyth gives 1788 as the year of Gulab Singh's birth, which is incorrect.

59. Smyth, G.C., *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 248.

also alive. The family had inherited a few small jagirs at Ismailpur, Dayavan and Purmandal. But the yield of these jagirs was quite a humble one, and the family had become impoverished, and had merged into the common peasantry, keeping, however, some semblance of royalty through their relation to Mian Mota, the mintster of the last Dogra ruler of Jammu, Raja Jit Singh. Both Zorawar Singh and his son Kishore Singh served their kinsman, Raja Jit Singh, in the capacity of petty military officers. Thus the family to which the 'Dogra Brother's belonged' was well-known in their land, and was in no way" of obscure origin."[60] They were of "good family" but were at one time so poor as to have served in the Maharaja's irregular cavalry as common dragoons upon a rupee a day."[61]

It was young Gulab Singh who was the first in that family to enter Ranjit Singh's service.

He started his career, according to several contemporary writers, as a horseman in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's irregular cavalry in which were usually entrolled near relatives, sons and dependants of the dispossessed *misldars* and chiefs, on no fixed grades of pay but on a comparatively high remuneration to every trooper according to his status, experience and efficiency.[62]

The fact of entering as a trooper in Ranjit's service might have been disclosed to various authorities by Gulab Singh himself. At that early date, when he could not dream of ever becoming an independent sovereign of the state, and could have even boasted afterwards of rising to that eminent status from the position of an ordinary horseman, he could have no scruples about the affair. From a 'king's trooper to kingship' itself was a long way traversed by him on the road to greatness, which very few greatmen in history were fortunate enongh to traverse.

In the *Khalsa Durbar Records* Mian Gulab Singh Jamwal is shown commanding a small number of '*Sowarian Jamwal*'—the Jamwal cvalary. In the rolls of the previous years upto A.D. 1814, he is shown as one of the troopers in the Jamwal cavalry where the name of his brother Dhian Singh is also on the list at Rs. 3/- per day[63]. The consensus of opinion of contemporary writers supports the fact that Gulab Singh entered Ranjit's service as a trooper.

Most probably Gulab Singh was summoned to the Lahore Court in A.D. 1810. The *Gulabnama* states that the fame of Gulab Singh's

60. Mohan Lal, *Travels in the Panjab, Afganistan and Turkistan*; London, 1846, p. 14 "A Dogra of humble origin" writes S.S. Thorburn in *The Panjab in Peace* and War, p. 29.
61. *Steinbach*, Lt. Col , *The Punjab*, London, 1846, reprint, Patiala 1970, pp. 20 and 57.
62. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans*, reprint, Patiala, p . 284.
63. Sita Ram Kohli, *Fateh Nama Guru Khalsa-ji ka* (Hindi), Hoshiarpur, p. 231 ; Sinha, N,K. *Ranjit Singh.*, 1951, p. 179.

heroism had reached Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who asked Mian Mota to send for him[64]. Hence accompanying Mian Mota he joined *Urdu-e-Mu'alla* in the year A D. 1810 at Daska. Two years later, in A.D. 1812, he brought his brother, Dhian Singh, to Lahore and Ranjit Singh employed him in the *Ghorcharas* on sixty rupees monthly. The same day their father was also employed on "a salary equal to one fourth" of what Gulab Singh was drawing at that time[65]. In 1812, they were made *Ghorchora* Commanders in the Mian Singh's Missee, Dhian Singh, according to G C. Smyth, becoming the greater favourite with the Maharaja, receiving five rupees a day, while *Gulab Singh*, the elder brother had only four. Their pay was, however, ere long-doubled and tripled.

Soon the two brothers were the most favourcd of all Ranjit Singh's favourites. In 1813, at Ranjit Singh's suggestion, they sent for their younger brother, Suchet Singh, now a lad of about twelve years whose handsome personality immediately won for him the affection of Maharaja. The Rajpoot brothers were now all in all at the court".[66] All the three became Rajas, acquired Jagirs and contracts that have enriched them beyond count.[67] It was little known at that time that these footmen were destined at no distant date, to become the lords of the hills and that their power would be supreme in the vast kingdom established by the warlike talent of Ranjit Singh.[68]

After entering Ranjit's service the Dogra brothers soon attracted his notice because of their valour, alacrity and assiduity and graceful bearing. They gave proof of these qualities in the battle of Chach Hazara and Hazru, in which the Aghans, after some initial successes, suffered crushing defeat[69]. This battle was fought on 13th July, 1813 near Attock[70]. Gulab Singh and his father, Kishore Singh, were also among the Sikh fighters led by Diwan Hokam Chand. Gulab Singh gave a good account of himself in the action. Mian Kishore Singh was severely wounded in the battle. The account given in the *Gulabnama* of this campaign shows that Gulab Singh participated in it at the head of a section of the army, and not as a trooper or follower[71].

64. *Gulab.*, Eng. tr. *op. cit.*, p. 153 ; Ganesh Dass, *Raidarshani*, BM MSS., folio 262 a states—"some time after this, when Mian Mota attended on the king at Lahore, the king enquired 'whose son is the youth who fought bravely with the young Bhai Hukma Singh'? The Mian replied, it is my nephew'. The king sent for him and appointed him in the *Chorchara Khas*".

65. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama* (text), Srinagar, 1876, p. 105 ; Ganesh Dass, *Tarikh-i-Rajdarshani*, 1847, BM.MS. folio 262 b ; Pir Gulam Hussan, *Hassan*, Research Departmen, J & K Government, Srinagar, p 830.

66. Smyth, C.C. pp. 250-51.

67. Steinbach, Lt. Col., *The Punjab*, op., *cit.*, p. 20,

68. Latif, S.M., *History of the Punjab*, Delhi, 1964, p. 439.

69. Murray, *Ranjit Singh*, pp. 95, 100 ; *Sir D. Ochterlony to Govt.*, 1st July, 1813 ; J.D. Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, p. 138.

70. Murray, *Ranjit Singh*, pp. 95-100 ; *Hist. of the Sikhs, op. cit*, p. 138.

71. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama* (text), *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 108.

The vendetta which had taken its latest toll in the murder of Mian Mota seems to have become a means of the rapid rise of the Dogra brothers. As stated earlier, Trehru and Sathru (or Jagatu) murdered Mian Mota. Ganesh Dass gives the exact date of the incident as 29th Har , i.e. 14th July, 1813, the *Ikadashi* day[72]. Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh learnt of this probably in the beginning of August after returning from the battle of Haidru or Hazru[73].

After committing this deed both Trehru and Sathru came to Lahore and attached themselves to the retinue of Prince Kharak Singh through the recommendation of Baba Mian Singh and Mulk Raj Bedi. Gulab Singh avenged the murder of his patron by shooting Sathru to death. Being hard pressed by the friends of their victim, the brothers seem to have taken shelter with their general, Misr Diwan Chand, under whose banner the Dogras rallied at that time[74].

After some time, when the followers of Prince Kharak Singh, to whose retinue Trehru and Sathru had attached themselves, had been reconciled to the murder, both the brothers were called to the presence by the Maharaja, who exalted them and ordered them to remain in attendance and were given Sayalpur (Smailpur) for sustenance of the family[75].

This bloody deed, committed in broad day light in the midst of crowded Anarkali bazar, must have created a sensation throughout the city and enhanced the prestige of its perpetrators as well as revealed the humours the Dogra youngmen were fermented with. When the young bravados came in the presence of Ranjit Singh, he admonished them and told Gulab Singh that "such a disposition in his nature was contrary to advantage" and it should be reformed. At this Gulab Singh curtly submitted that counting of profit and loss was the business of merchants and traders, how soldiers like him who dealt in life and death mothlike could behave like them"[76].

As in the early days of his career Ranjit Singh was always looking for brave and dauntless persons like him, this murder affair seems to have appealed to his military whim and raised the brothers higher than before in his favour. Gulab Singh was now exalted to the status of an officer commanding of the Jamwal cavalry. Writes Shahamat Ali,

72. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*. BM. MS., folio 267 b.

73. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnoma* (text), *oy. cit.*, p. 108, records that while Diwan Mohkam Chand was returning towards Lahore, the report of the murder was received. According to Prinsep the battle of Haidru (Hazru) was foaght on 11-12 July, and that the Diwan relieved the fort and returned to Lahore in August. *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, p. 17.

74. Smyth, G.C., *op. cit.*, p. 252 ; Lawrence, H.M., *Adventures, op. cit.*, p. 92.
Shahmat Ali, *The Sikhs and the Afghans*, p. 93.

75. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani, op. cit.*, p. 271 a.

76. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, p. 112.

"About the same time, his Highness placed Gulab Singh in charge of a party of sixty *sowars*, and gave him the district of Nihal in jagir yielding a revenue of 12,000 rupees in lieu of which he was bound to furnish fifty additional *sowars*. His influence was thus rising, and he met with rapid promotion"[77]. The *Khalsa Durbar Records* inform that he had become commander of the '*Sawarian Jamwal*' (the Jamwal Cavalry) in about 1814 A.D. In Gulabnama also there is mention of the assignment to Gulab Singh of the jagir of Swan Singh in recognition of his great exertions undergone during Ranjit's first expedition to Kashmir, which was undertaken from June to August, 1814.[78]

During the disastrous retreat of Ranjit Singh's armies through Punch and Rajouri, Bhimbir and Kotli, after his discomfiture in his attempt to conquer Kashmir in the middle of 1814, Gulab Singh rendered valuable services to his master. He exhibited exceptional mastery of the situation and his gallantry turned likely rout to a graceful retreat. Gulab Singh's brave sallies defeated and scattered the marauding Khasalis. In recogoition of these services Ranjit Singh bestowed on him Sawan Mall's jagir. When Ranjit was safely back in his summer capital Dinanagar, he showered still greater favours on the Dogra family and leased out to them three villages of Kharoti, Bhandian and Beol in the Pothohar territory west of the Chenab. Ganesh Dass includes "Soahra and Ramgarh upto Pindi, known as *talluqa* Ghari" also among the jagirs. The Dogras appointed Amir Chand as the Diwan who stormed the Beol fortress and occupied the territory.[79]

The Dogra brothers accompanied the Maharaja and participated in almost all the expeditions undertaken after A.D. 1813. The next opportunity to outshine their companions came when Ranjit Singh was personally investing the fort of Garb-Damala in the Jalandhar Doab, considered to be impregnable. This probably took place during the year A.D. 1815, when the marriage of Mian Dhian Singh was celebrated. The Dogras were rewarded for their gallant conduct at Garh-Damala with the jagirs of Lala-Chobara and Ramgarh to the south of Jammu, in return for a body of 200 horsemen. Mian Kishore Singh and Suchet Singh took possession of these territories with the help of the Sikh General Misr Diwan Chand. Mian Zorawar Singh, grandfather of the Dogra brothers, shifted his habitat from Smailpur to Ramgarh which now became the stronghold of the family. It was here that Dhian Singh's son, Hira Singh was born in 1816[80].

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77. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans, op. cit.*, p. 93.

78. Prinsep, Henry T., *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Panjab*, 1833 pp. 83-85.
Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, text, p. 115.

79. Ganesh Dass, *Rajdarshani*, BM MS., fol. 271 b. The Pathohar region lay between the Chenab and the Jhelum and included Mirpur and Gujrat Districts ; Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, text, pp. 116-117.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 120.

Similar feats of valour and dauntlessness were exhibited by Gulab Siagh and his brothers at Multan in April 1815. Gulab Singh succeeded in bringing the dead body of a Sikh chief in the shower of bullets from under the ramparts.

By this time Ranjit Singh had realised the soundness of confidence he had reposed in the ability and loyalty of the Dogra brothers. At the same time he had realised the futility of keeping Jammu under his control and his generals had miserably failed to tame the rebellious spirit of Mian Dido, Mian Diwan Singh and his outlaw companions, Puro Darorha and others. Ranjit Singh, therefore, decided to gradually withdraw all Sikh forces from the Dogra family in charge of Riasi which had become a rallying centre for anti-Sikh elements.

Mian Diwan Singh of Riasi kept the banner of rebellion unfurled. In April 1817 he annexed the country on the north-west of Jammu and incited the Khasalis to a general revolt.

Mangal Singh Kalalwala was deputed in that direction who made the Mian give up the path of battle on promise of jagir. The Mian was, however, brought to Lahore where he was put in confinement as he was suspected of having a hand in the murder of Mian Mota. Riasi was then given as a jagir to the Jammu family, and an order was sent to Gulab Singh throngh Bhagwan Singh for the occupation of the Khasali territory. Gulab Singh thereupon left Jammu and reached Riasi where he was welcomed by the people. But Mian Bhup Singh, son of the deposed Chief Mian Diwan Singh, instigated the Khasalis to disregard Gulab Singh's authority. In a few days, however, the rebels were driven from their entrenchments and they took to flight. After reducing the *pargana* to submission Gulab Singh returned to Riasi and raised a mud fort and named it Bhimgarh[81]. He put his own commander (*thanadar*) there and returned to Lahore. But soon, the inhabitants of Kainthi and Kirghal raised rebellion. Gulab Singh personally visited them with punishment.

A serious challenge to the authority of the Dogra family in Riasi-Khasali territory was posed by a widespread insurrection led by Mian Bhup Singh, who had surrepitiously purchased the release of his father Mian Diwan Singh and given out that Lahore Darbar had restored Riasi jagir to them. The gullible *pharis* on all sides rose in revolt and set siege to the Riasi fort which was defended by Zorawar Singh Kahluria. The besiegers were however, taken by surprise by Gulab Singh's general, Amir Chand, and were forced to abandon the siege and Gulab Singh's men re-occupied Riasi[82].

Gulab Singh soon arrived there, killed Surata Bhagial, the insurgent leader, raised Puro Darorha to the command and administration of

81. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama* (text) pp. 122-123.

82. *Ibid*, pp. 122-27; Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i- Dogra Des* (Urdu), Jammu 1967, pp. 431-33.

Khasal, and entrusted the administration of Riasi to Wazir Zorawar Singh. The rebels, however, gave him no respite. Mian Dido, who had flouted Sikh authority in Jammu hills since 1810, also joined the cause of Khasali rebels, and made the matters worse. Therefore, the stubborn resistance of the hill leaders to Dogra family, who were considered officials of Sikh government, continued for about a year and Gulab Singh and his men had to encounter numerous difficulties before the rebel resistance was broken. Mian Dido was defeated and driven towards Tarkota hills and peace was once again restored in the Khasali hills[83].

Dhian Singh appointed 'Deodhiwala' (Chamberlain)

While Gulab Singh was earnlng the favour of Ranjit Singh by his soldierly qualities, the younger brother, Dhian Singh, won approbation of his master as a polished courtier and resourceful manager of household of the Maharaja. He has been rising into favour of his Highness, and at the recommendation of Misr Diwan Chand he was vested with the charge of the *Deodhee*[84]. For fifteen years Jamadar Khushal Singh had held command of the doorway (*deodhee*), "which is equivalent to that of the guards, as well as the royal ear",[85] but he did not prove equal to the job. On account of the arbitary use he made of his power, he disgusted both the people and the officers of the state, neither did Ranjit Singh himself entertain a good opinion of him[86]. Major H.M. Lawrence even imputes treachery to him.[87]

He was, therefore removed from the charge of the *deodhee* and refused admittance to the court and was appointed towards Multan.

According to *Gulabnama*, in the Bikrami year 1875 (A.D. 1818), Maharaja Ranjit Singh ordered Galab Singh to take charge of family jagirs and send Dhian Singh to the court : so the latter met the king in the royal camp at Wazirabad. The same year he was exalted to the office of *Deodhi*[88]. For some time before this exaltation "Mian Dhian Singh was entrusted with full powers in counsels and court and everyday witnessed the increase of royal favours towards him. In the month of Shawal (S. 1875) an additional jagir of 20,000 rupees was bestowed on him.[89]. A respectable *Haveli* was given to him for residence. During these very days most of the courtiers were consulted on the propriety of exalting him to the office of *Deodhi*.

83. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, (texf), pp. 127-30 ; Narsingh Dass Nargis *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des* (Urdu) , 1967, pp. 431-33.
84. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans, op. cit*,, p. 41.
85. Lawrence, Major H.M., *Adventures of an officer in the Punjab*, reprint Patiala 1970, p. 36.
86. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans, op. cit.*, p. 28.
87. Lawrente Major H.M. *op. cit* , p. 36.
88. Kirpa Ram. *Gulabnama* (text), Srinagar, 1876, p. 132-33,
89. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar II, p. 226,

The king gave precious gifts to him. On the eighth of the month Zi-alqa'da (S. 1875) Dhian Singh's family arrived in Lahore and was housed in the grand *Haveli*[90].

At last, on Monday, the 27th, July, 1818, Jamadar Khushal Singh was deposed from the office of Deodhi, and the same was given over to Mian Dhian Singh. A few days after, on Dussehra day (1st week of October 1818) formalities of exaltatian of Dhian Singh to the office of *Deodhi* were performed, and the youngest brother, Suchet Singh, was appointed to present the applications of the people. Mian Kishore Singh seems to have been created Raja after the bestowal of jagirs on 29th November.

In the month of May—June, 1819 Misr Diwan Chand and a few other eminent chiefs were deputed in the direction of Kashmir,[91] for its final subjugation. Gulab Singh also accompanied at the head of his own force. On the way Rajauri was occupied and Aghar Khan fled to the hills. Finally Sikh force entered the valley and Afghans uader Jabar Khan were ousted. In the expedition Gulab Singh took a prominent part and Ranjit's officers occupied Kashmir in July, 1819.

Gulab Singh represented to the Maharaja that formerly in the days of Ahmed Shah Durrani a jagir of one lakh rupees in Kashmir had been granted to his ancestors as a reward for their services in the conquest of Kashmir. He asked for Kishtwar in exchange for that jagir His representation was accepted by Ranjit Singh[93] and Kishtwar was included in the jagirs conferred on the family in November 1820.

In the frontier compaigns of Ranjit Singh, Gulab Singh played a prominent and noteworthy part. The most important among them was the compaign against the tribe of Yusufzai in 1819, which enabled Ranjit Singh to acquire Peshawar[94]. In the beginning of 1820, Gulab Singh was employed in exterminating Aghar Khan of Rajouri. This ruler had given Ranjit Singh cause for offence during his Kashmir expeditions. He again broke out in rebellion in 1820 and fled on the approach of Misr Diwan Chand to his territory.[95] He had taken shelter in Budhil and Khrasali hills. Gulab Singh was, therefore ordered to stamp out sedition in Rajouri hills where the Maharaja wanted Rahim Ullah Khan to rule in peace. Gulab Singh forced his way into his hills at the head of only one hundred fifty companions.[96] After a few months of strenuous operations in the mountain fastnesses he ultimately succeeded in capturing Aghar Ullah Khan in the spring of 1820 who had refused to submit to Ranjit's authority for the

90. *Ibid*, p. 228,
91. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
93. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama* (text), *op. cit.*, p. 138.
94. Panikkar, K.M., *Founding of the Kashmir State*, op. cit.
95. Latif, Syad Mohammad, *History of the Panjab*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 421.
96. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama* (text). *op. cit.*, p. 157.

previous eight or nine years. He was sent to Lahore where he was confined till his death in 1825.[97]. For this service, the family obtained in jagir, the principality of Jammu, with which they had long been connected.[98]

Jammu was farmed out to the entire family out of political considerations and for their joint services, Gulab Singh's being particularly conspicuous in the field of military expeditions. Writing in 1835-1836 Baron Charles Hugel observes, "Raja Hira Snigh is at present in high favour. He is the son of Raja Dhyan Singh, the *Deoriwallla*, or first Chamberlain, who with his brothers, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh, received the investiture of Jammu in 1820... "[99]

Sohan Lal has the correct date of the contract—— sixteenth of the month of Maghar, H.E. 1226, i.e., Samvat 1877, corresponding to 30th November, 1820. This date is supported by the deed of acceptance, *Qabuliat*, contracted by *Mian* Kishore Singh and his three sons, on the fifteenth of the month of Maghar 1877,[100] One day earlier, as "such acceptance was taken before the grant was made.[101]

The Gulabnama does not contain the copy of the *Sanad* for the jagir of Jammu. But the *Qabuliat* (Agreement), signed by Kishore Singh and his three sons acknowledge the bestowal of "talluqa Chakla Jammu (excluding south of Kashmir), Patti Bhoti, Bandralta, Chanehni and Kishtwar"[102] on certain conditions which may be deduced as under :

"To keep in readiness for imperial service, as per high orders" 400 horsemen as described.

"To engage in service as per rule, in cooperation with the exalted Sardars.....

"To make no deficiency in rendering good will, loyalty and sacrifices...and to carry out readily royal commands whatever. "To guard the Kashmir road for the Kafilas of Pashmina merchants...and to

97. *Ibid.*

98. Prinsep, Henry T., *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Panjab*, 1834, p. 99 ; Cf. Hugel, *Trarels iu Cashmere and the Panjab, etc.* Eng. Tr by Major T.B. Jerbis, London, 184ɔ, p. 83 ; Anon , *History of ihe Panjab, Calcutta*, 1891, p. 421.

99. Hugel, Baron Charles, *Travels in Kashmir and Punjab*, op. cit. p. 384 ; Prinsep and Latif also make the 'family' the recipient of the jagir. Sohan Lal remarks : On the 18th of Maghar, H E. 1236, correaponding to Samvat 1877, Mian Kishore Singh, father of Miau Dhian Singh, was entrusted the management of Jammu by his Highness."

100. MS. No. M/503, S A.P.

101. Grewal, J.S. and Indu Banga, "Ranjit Singh the Suzerain"... ....*Procd Punjab Hist. conf.*, 1970, p. 86, note 29.

102. Cf. *Galabnama*, App. 13, Eng. Tr., S.D.S. Charak, 1977:

make good any loss sustained by them on this account. "To imprison and carry to presence, the rebellious and wicked Dido, or to kill him, or drive him across the river Satluj.[103].

The grantees also undertook every year to present a tribute of certain articles, such as seven pairs of royal falcons, five pairs of Chitra, fine horses, one Pukhta maund of Kistwar saffron and some lovely maid-servants.....'*Kaneezgan Umda Khubru.*'

In addition they agreed to the installation of imperial *thana* in the forts of Sumergarh and Kotli. The '*Qabuliat*' is signed on 15th Maghar, S. 1877, corresponding to 29th November, 1820, and the *sanad* granting these jagirs was issued by the Maharaja the following day, on the 16th Mag ar, according to Sohan Lal. It is also evident from the '*Qabuliat*' deed that the jagirs were given not to Gulab Singh, but to the whole family, and Mian Kishore Sihgh, the father of the family, took over the "administration of these territories according to Sohan Lal who records .....and to Mian Kishore Singh.....the management of Jammu was entrusted by His Highness."[104]

Some twenty days later a sentence was added to the '*Qabaliat*'..... "Whenever there is any increase in territory through the grace of *Satguru-ji*. it will be reported to His Highness,"[105] which anticipates the possibility of intended increase in the actually occupied territories by the grantees. Kishtwar, for instance, mentioned in the '*Qabuliat*' was yet to be occupied by the Jammu family. The deed thus conferred a special status on the Dogras. This not only gave them right to maintain their army, but also empowered them to conduct further conquests and add new territories to their jagir with information to their overlord. This special status was caused partly by the unsettled conditions of the territories of Jammu and the conquests of Kashmir and so Ranjit Singh made the Dogra brothers his vassals.[106] Mian Dido is presented in local tradition as a brave and fearless fighter and an irreconcilable opponent of Ranjit's authority in the Jammu Hills. Ranjit Singh was, therefore, obliged to make a special mention of his activities which must have created a special problem for the Lahore Court, as has been shown above. The assignment of Jammu to the Dogra famlly was thus intended to solve the problem of the Dogra unrest and the conferment of special status[107] on them, as revealed by the '*Qabuliat*', was probably meant to avert some future dangers with which Ranjit's political system was fraught. This special status of the Dogra family is to be ascertained by their

103. *Ibid.*

104. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Daftar II, p, 281.

105. *MS No* : *M/503*, S.A.P.

106. Grewal, J.S , and Indu Banga, "Ranjit Singh the Suzerain,".....*Procd Puniad. Hist. conf.*, 5th Session, 1970, pp. 84, 88.

107. Bawa Satinder Singh also uses the term and opines that the Sikhs generaily "abhorred the Jammu Chief's special status in their kingdom." .....see *Jammu Fox*, Illinois University Press. U.S.A., 1947, 121.

subsequent political and military behaviour within the fold of the polity of Ranjit Singh and his successors, specially between the years 1834 and 1845.

The Dogras thus rose to eminence in Ranjit's dominion within ten years of joining his service, and through their own position, and that of Dhian Singh, the Dogra family started wielding great influence in the court and the Hills which they perseveringly used to augument their position and expand their power, so that in 1838 Shahamat Ali had to remark that "...no individual of any influence has been now left in the hills who can dispute authority of the Dogra family."[108]

JAMMU RAJ IN THE MAKING

(a) Capture of Kishtwar :

The 'Dogra Trio' and their father had acquired a vast territory in the form of jagirs. Beol, Bhandian and Khroti had been given to them by Maharaja Ranjit Singh as early as 1913. Soon afterwards they received the managament of Lala-Chobara and Ramgarh. Ismailpur, Deoli and Dansal had already descended on the family from their ancestors. Riasi was acquired in jagir in 1815. But the year 1820 haa been the most auspicious one for the entire family when the *talluqa* Jammu with the exception of the territory to the south of Kashmir, and along with Patti Bhoti, Bandralta, Chanehni and Kishtwar was granted as jagir to the whole family.

This grant also gave the family power to conquer and add new territories to their jagirs, and the Dogra family accepted the condition that : "Whenever there is any increase in territory through the grace of *Satgurji*, it will be reported to His Majesty."[109]

Though Kishtwar had been conferred on the Dogra family as a part to the jagir, this territory was yet not in possesston of Ranjit Singh. The Dogras were required to conquer it and make it a part of the Jammu jagir. The valley of Kishtwar, known in antiquities as Kashtwata, lying to the south-east of Kashmir on thc Upper Chenab is a charming plain in the midst of the mountains, not perfectly level, but undulating, everywhere cultivated, dotted with villages.

It was probably ruled by Rajput Rajas from at least the middle ages. When Maharaja Ranjit Dev became powerful at Jammu, Kishtwar lost its independence.

Ranjit Dev (1732—1782) of Jammu established his sway over Kishtwar and sent his representative to set the administration in order. This was Lal Dev who ruled there for two years and annoyed the people by his oppressions. This direct rule of Jammu over Kishtwar, however, came to an end with the death of Ranjit Dev in 1782, when

108. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans*, reprint Patiala, 1970, p. 102.
109. *MS. NO* : *M/503*, State Archives, Patiala.

Inait Ulla Singh was secretly liberated from the Bahu fort, and he drove away Lal Dev with the help of the leaders of Soraj and Kainthi[110] Ranjit Dev seems to have made Kishtwar his tributary during his expeditions to Kashmir valley in about 1819 A.D.

Kishtwar had freed itself from the sway of Jammu on Ranjit Dev's death but soon it became subject to Delhi. Raja Tegh Singh the last independent ruler of Kishtwar. Down to his time the descendents of the two Wazirs sent from Delhi were serving the family. But Raja Tegh Singh made his chief adviser a Thakur, named Lakhpat, who till then was a small landholder. He gave him the title of Wazir and bestowed on him the jagir of Bonjua. This Lakhpat became a source of trouble for Raja Tegh Singh and ultimately led to his downfall.

This happened soon after Kishtwar was assigned as jagir to the Dogras by Ranjit Singh who gave them in 1820 a mandate to conquer it.

The potent cause for assignment of Kishtwar to the Dogras seems to be tnat the Raja of that place had specially incurred the displeasure of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by giving shelter to Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, the refugee king of Kabul. The king had been in the hands of Ranjit at Lahore from where, in April, 1814 Shah Shuja himself made his escape in disguise, and reached the Hills, where he was hospitably received by the petty Raja of Kishtwar. Ranjit sent word to the Raja to forward the refugee to him as a prisoner which he declined to do.[111] But it became necessary for Shuh Shuja to leave the protector.

This Shah Shuja affair antagonised Ranjit to Raja Mohammad Tegh Singh of Kishtwar and the former was looking out for an opportunity of taking revenge on the latter. When Gulab Singh asked for Kishtwar, which was yet an independent principality, in no way a part of Rajit's kingdom, the Sikh ruler was pleased to entrust its conquest to the Dogra chief and conferred it as a part of the Jammu jagir on the Dogra family on 29th November, 1820.[112]

Immediately after the conferment of the jagir Gulab Singh made arrangements for the conquest of Kishtwar, but the expedition had to be put off till next spring on the advice of Birbal Dhar[113] Gulab

110. Hashmat Ullah Khan, pp. 176-77.

111. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, p.p. 121-22, Anon. *History of the Punjab*, Vol II, pp. 21-22,

112. *MS M/503*, N.A. Patiala, the grant including *talluqaa Chakla* Jammu, Patti Bhoti, Bandrahalta, Chenhhi and Kishtwar. "It is interesting to note that the new 'Jagirdar' had actually to conquer this tract (Kishtwar) at the time of this grant"—J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, "Ranjit Singh, The Suzerain", *Procdgs*: *Punjab History Con.*, 5th Session, 1970, p 84 fn. 13.

113. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, pp. 140-142.

Singh seems to have used the intermediary period in a successful attempt to sow seeds of dissesion midst the Raja and the wazir of Kishtwar. The *Gulabnama* states that as an act of diplomacy some *parwanas* were written in the name of wazir Lakhpat Rai, the administrator of the Raja of Kishtwar. The object of writing these fabricated letters was "only to breed suspicion in the heart of the Raja of Kishtwar" against his able and loyal wazir.

The device had the desired effect. One day a *parwana* fell into the hands of an informer who presented it before Raja Tegh Singh. This bred misunderstanding, and the offended Raja secretly ordered for the diwan's murder. The latter, however, escaped, after sustaining slight injuries only to Jangalwar and thence probably to Jammu in the presence of Gulab Singh, and put him upto annexing Kishtwar, showing how easily it could be done.

In the beginning of S. 1878 or May 1821 A.D., Gulab Singh personally led his armies for the conquest of Kishtwar. On the way he reduced Balwalta and compelled Raja Dial Chand of Chenahni to accompany him on the conquest of Kishtwar. The Chenab was crossed by a device and his armies reached Doda. The escape of the wazir had left Tegh Singh resourceless and torn by internal dissensions. Doda fell without a fight. Now Tegh Singh thought it prudent to wait upon Gulab Singh who received him kindly and sent him to Lahore, where the ex-ruler was treated unkindly[114]. Consequently he died there under mysterious circumstances. Gulab Singh left Mian Chain Singh as '*Amil*' (Administrator) of Kishtwar.

Thus was that ancient state subverted and acquired without firing a shot. This feat of diplomacy was probably done by Gulab Singh during May or June, before the commencement of rains. "In April (1821) Ranjit moved to Adenanugur, and remained there till July, occupied in collecting the hill tribute. The two petty territories of Kishtwar and Mankot were in this interval, annexed to the Khalsa"[115]. Gulab Singh had thus proved himself an ardent disciple of the ancient *sam-dam-dand-bhed* school of diplomacy which lies in the maximum economy in the use of resources with the minimum loss of manpower, yet leading to the attainment of astonishing success Thorburn has justifiably assessed, "... his master (Ranjit Singh) had employed him in an enterprise the successful execution of which required considerable finesse—the peaceful acquisition of Kishtwar, a hill principality. The mission was carried out with such tact—the state being seized by artifice and its ruler deported to Lahore and there quietly poisoned—that Gulab Singh's grateful sovereign bestowed Jammu upon him in jagir."[116]

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114. Ganeshi Lal, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, p. 23 (Eng. trans. by V.S. Suri); Sheoji Dar, *op. cit*, p. 52 However. Ganeshi Lal states on the authority of the Zamindars of Kishtwar that a battle took place at Ussar that sealed the fate of Tegh Singh (*Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, p. 23).

115. Anon., *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 60; Henry T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in thePunjab*, p. 102.

116. Thorburn, S.S. *The Panjab in Peace and War*, 1883, p. 29.

When Gulab Singh became the Raja of Jammu in June 1822, he appointed Zorawar Singh the *Hakim* or governor of Kishtwar and exalted him with the title of wazir.[117]

The acquisition of Kishtwar had a special significance for Gulab Singh. Once this territory had formed Part of the Dogra Kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Dev ; hence its annexation to Jammu Principality rounded off the old Dogra possessions on that side. At the same time it opened the gateway to Gulab Singh's further conquests across the inner Himalayas which were to follow soon after. Zorawar Singh and his Dogra soldiers who controlled and administered Kishtwar became habitual to the cold climate and the hardy life in lofty mountains and narrow deep valleys and gorges and gradually prepared themselves for further advance towards north and east in the snowy ranges, frozen plateaus and the hostile Himalayan territories. In a way Kishtwar served as a spring-board from which Zorawar Singh lept on his career of conquests and military exploits which marked him out as one of the great generals and military strategists which India's martial community has ever produced. It was through Kishtwar that he advanced towards Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet and made a history in the annals of warfare. Later on, the acquisition of Kishtwar came out to be the first step on the part of Gulab Singh towards the encirclement of Kashmir Valley on the north, east and south and thereby bring it in his own sphere of influence.

Soon after the spectacular capture of Kishtwar, Gulab Singh accompanied his overlord, Ranjit Singh, on expedition into the territories of Mankera, Bukar and Laia, south of Multan, and by the beginning of November 1821 they advanced on Dera Ismail Khan, which places were reduced by 14th December, 1821.

(b) Suppression of Mian Dido

But perhaps the most spectacular deed of Gulab Singh during this year was the extermination of Mian Dido who had for over a decade defied Sikh authority and withstood all efforts of Sikh officers to suppress his revolt. Several local leaders like Mian Dharam Singh Raipuria, had joined his fold [118] and their depredations kept the Sikh authorities at Jammu in a state of constant fright. The gravity of the situation can be realised from the fact that several veteran Sikh generals "arrived continuously with large troops" but "found themselves helpless in that affair".[119] They perpetrated many atrocities on those who were suspected of being accomplices of Mian Dido, but Dido's popularity remained unhurt and his spirits unbent. This state of affairs in Jammu hills continued for over a decade and the importance Ranjit Singh attached to this insurgency is clear from the conditions of the deed of June 1820, conferring the Jammu Jagir on the Dogra family

117. Smyth, G.C. *A History of the Reigning family of Lahore,* p. 199.

118. *Gulabnama,* p. 104.

119. *Ibid.*, Ganesh Das, *Rajdarshani,* MS. BM.; fol. 172 b.

who undertook to either capture the recalcitrant Dido or kill him or drive him across the river Sutlej.[120] Although Dido was a popular leader who embodied the spirit of Dogra resistance to Sikh dominance he could never rise above his predatory habits. He might have desired to tease the Sikhs out of the Jammu hills but he seems to have failed to realise the necessity of consolidating the gains of rebellion into an organised state. As a result his struggle for over a decade brought no relief to the Dogra land. He had perhaps no notion of state, and did not establish one even in those hills where he seems to have been supreme for several years. Tradition conveys that Gulab Singh was unanimous with Dido on the urgency of reestablishing the autonomous Raj of Dogras. But at the same time he was convinced that Dido's ways could bring about nothing except misery and calamity to the land. Now, when the Jammu Raj had once again been entrusted to the Dogras to the exclusion of all Sikh administrators such lawlessness had lost its logic. Dido, however, did not come to terms with Gulab Singh. The latter, therefore, brought into play his subtle diplomacy and isolated Dido and his few followers. Most of the people deserted his cause and stopped giving shelter and co-operation. He was finally surrounded on the Trikota hills, and receivod a musket shot while fighting, and thus laid down his life like a true Dogra wedded to his personal notions of liberty. He represented the ingenious anarchist spirit of the hills where people are generally less used to the ruling authority.

The establishment of peace and tranquility in the Jammu hills, which had been eluding the Sikh rulers for long, and the pacification of the people thereof was a creditable achievement of Gulab Singh. He had stamped out sedition in Rajouri, Bhimber, Riasi, Akhnoor and Jammu regions with a strong hand ; had shown unyielding spirit to undertake adventures and hazards, and had proved a rare ability for civil administration in the vast jagirs which he held on behalf of the whole family. He kept a vigilant eye on his chieftains and a tight grip on the revenues of his estates.[121] His early experience in the art of diplomacy, military conquests and civil organisation of conquered territories equipped him adequately with the qualities which led to his rise and success. He seems to have closely studied Ranjit's secrets of success and imbibed those in addition to his personal virtues.

(c) Raj-tilak of Jammu Bandralta

Maharaja Ranjit Singh accorded recognition to the special services rendered him by Gulab Singh in the hills of Rajouri and Jammu and in the Yusufzai-campaign by conferring the '*Raj-Tilak*' or sovereignity of Jammu and by creating him 'Raja' of that large principality, admitting his hereditary right to it. The occasion arose on the death of Mian Kishore Singh in 1822. Shahamat Ali states that Mian Kishore Singh having died, Ranjit Singh proceeded towards Jammu to perform the

120. *Document No-M/505*, S.A.P.

121. Kaumudi, *Kashmir, Cultural Heritage*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1952, p. 19.

rites of condolence and "while at Jammu, Ranjit Singh conferred the ritle of Raja of Jammu on Gulab Singh, and that of the Bhadarwal (Bandral) on his brother Seocheit Singh."[122] It was at Akhnur that the anointing ceremony was performed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself by marking '*Tilak*' on the forehead of Gulab Singh on the 4th Har. 1879.[123]. At the same place and time the Raj of Bandralta was conferred on Gulab Singh's youngest brother, Suchet Singh. The bestowal of 'rajaship' on Dhian Singh was left to some other occasion although a deed of acceptance (*qabuliat*) was got from the three brothers collectively A day earlier, i.e., on the 3rd Har (16th June, the *qabuliat* was signed by the three in which only the name of Jammn is conta ned. "Out of rare kindness the *Raj Tilak* of Jammu has been bestowed on these slaves[124]. It would seem that, as in the case of confernment of Jagir of Jammu, the '*Raj*' of Jammu was also conferred upon the whole family. But the principalities were separately named in each case—Jammu to Gulab Singh, Bandralta to Suchet Singh, and later on, Chibhal (Punch) to Dhian Singh. When in 1836 Ranjit Singh made Hira Singh Dogra the Raja of Jasrota, his action confirmed his notion of Dogra kingdom of Jammu which once spread from the Jhelum to the Ravi. Ranjit Singh had thus revived once again, in his lifetime, under the sceptre of the old Dogra family, the Kingdom which had been first created by the efforts of Dhruv Dev and Ranjit Dev.

The three Dogra brothers were made vassals of the Kingdom of Lahore on stipulations contained categorically in the '*Qabuliat*' which included rendering obedience, good will and loyal service generation after generation; keeping ready for imperial service and mobilisation levies of horsemen of Kishtwar and Bandralta, in lieu of territories of Jammu, to any place required rendering services far and wide like Kashmir, and cooperating in every respect with whatever Rajas and Hindu and Muslim Sardars the Emperor orders; considering "life property and territories a gift of his Highness," and "residing of the family members of Mian Dhian Singh, with his son Hira Singh, at Lahore always"[125]

The *sanad* signed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh further provides "that whosoever be—of the royal house of the bountiful Sarkar will conform to this very *parwanah* of the glorious Majesty and will make no variation whatever."[126]

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122. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghan*, 95. Bhai Gian Singh writes: "While at this place (Wazirabad) the Maharaja learnt about the death of Kishore Singh, the Governor (*Hakim*) of Jammu, as he had administered the hills nicely and had proved himself a loyal subordinate of the Maharaja, the latter therefore called Gulab Singh and conferred on him the title of 'raja' and confirmed him in place of his father as Governor of hills; p. 134.

123. 17th June 1822, *Gulabdama*, p, 164.

124. *Document No. M/504*, S.A.P.

125. *Dacument No. M/504*, S,A.P.

126. Anon.r *History of the Punjab, op. cit*, II, p. 205,

The bestowal of the Jammu 'Raj' on Gulab Singh and his exaltation to the title of 'Raja' was an event of great importance Jammu had been, at least since the days of Raja Maldev, (1370-1407 A.D.) the central nucleus of the political life of Dogras. The acquisition of this capital as a principality assured Gulab Singn political pre-eminence and control over the entire region. It also served as a nucleus for further expansion and conquest. He immediately began extending his conquests on all sides, between Kashmir and Attock, nominally for the Sikh ruler but really on his own behalf[127]. So that "no individual of any influence" had been left in the hills who could dispute the authority of the Jammu famiiy,"[128] and Gulab Singh came to be considered, after Ranjit Singh himself, the greatest lord in the Punjab." This awakened in Gulab Singh the dream of establishing an independent Dogra principality in some remote future. For Ranjit Singh also this development was of considerable significance. Unflinching support and loyalty of these Dogra chiefs was assured to Ranjit Singh in case of need. They extended his kingdom even beyond the Himalayas and Imposed an effective administration on a traditionally defiant people.

The special position Ranjit Singh conceded to these brothers or rather to Galab Singh, should be attributed more to the political compulsion of the time and not to his imperial whim. Only some time earlier Ranjit Singh himself was one of those several chiefs whom he had dispossessed one by one of their territories by force and fraud and none of them was reconciled to the loss of status Some like Jodh Singh Ramgarhia, Rani Sada Kaur and Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. were considered in a position to throw challenge to his authority. The Afghans and other Muslim chiefs whom he had driven out of Multan, Derajat, Kashmir and other western territories, were preparing for a religious war against the Sikh chief.

Ranjit was ever in consternation of the combination of the defeated sardars, who would have, like those of cis-Sutlej Sikh Chiefs, preferred suzerainty of the British to that of one-eyed leader of their own race. J.D. Cunningham has asserted that Ranjit "had placed himself in some degree in opposition to the whole Sikh people, therefore, he sought for strangers whose applause would be more ready if less sincere."[130]

That some of the powerful sardars were never reconciled to Ranjit Singh's supremacy is fully evident from the behaviour of the Sindhanwalias in the lifetime of Ranjit and after his death. In 1828 when Ranjit Singh fell dangeriouly ill, sardar Budh Singh Sindhanwalia sought in vain to occupy the Government treasury at Gobind Garh

127. Anon., *Hist. af ihe Pnnjab, op. cit.* II, p. 205.

128. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans, op. cit.* p. 102.

129. Anon, *History of the Punjab, op. cit.*, II, p. 205.

130. *Cunningham's Hist. of the Sikhs*, 1918, *op cit.*, p. 178.

fort. Only five years after Ranjit's death the Sindhanwalia sardars, Attar Singh, Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh staged an unsuccessful coup by murdering the Maharaja and his Minister. Ranjit Singh suspected such treacheries of the Sikh chiefs and the Khalsa soldiery as also a combined Muhammadan opposition to his power. It was probably to counteract this danger in addition to the exigency of keeping the Dogras under control, that Ranjit Singh partonised this eminent fomily whose loyalty, bravery and usefulness he had tried on several occasions. "Ranjit Singh," adds Sir George, "forstered in the north of the kingdcm a Rajpoot power because it could have no affinity with his turbulent Khalsa on one side, or with malignant and vidictive Islam on the other."[131]

His step seems to have been a wise one aiming at the appeasement of the warlike Dogras. By attaching the Dogra chiefs to his interests he created such vassals as could be depended upon in the event of any challenge to his authority from ambitious Sikh chiefs or a Muhammadan combination. In his relations with the Dogras, Ranjit Singh was more or less guided by Akbar's policy towards the Rajputs.

As a measure of far-sightedness Gulab Singh seems to have got a written agreement from Jit Sin h, the former deposed Raja of Jammu ten days after the *Raj Tilak*, *i.e.*, on 26th June, 1822 whereby the latter renounced in his lifetime all the hereditary territories and personal property, in favour of Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh,[132] with the only stipulation that they would look after him like sons till his death and would thereafter perform his last rites in the tradition of his forefathers.[133]

Raja Jit Singh perhaps died in 1832 when his personal jagir of Janganu was resumed by Raja Gulab Singh under the authority of this *iqrarnama*.[134] There seems to be no immediate need of this agreement as Jammu had been conquered and annexed by Ranjit Singh, and Raja Jit Singh deposed as early as 1816. But Gulab Singh,

131. Edwardes, H., and Herman Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Luwerence Smith*

132. *Document No M/505, S.A.P.* The Persian *Iqrarnama* reads :
"I Raja Jit Singh, grandson of Raja Sahib Ranjit Devjeo, on this occasion, and out of internal inclination and dignified favours, in my own lifetime, and as a token of intrinsic love and heartfelt affection, hereby renounce proprietorship to all the protected territories of my ancestors and my own inheritance, in favour of my prosperous *'barkhurdar'* Raja-i-Rajgan, Raja Gulab Singh Jio, and Raja Sahib Dhian Singh Ji and Raja Suchet Singh Ji, by way of *dharam* and *niyam* mutual agreement and oaths of predecessors and Thakars and Gurus.....
Cf, *Galabnama* (Eng tr.), pp. 119-20

133. *Document No. M/505.* S.A.P. The signatory further adds *i*
"We (Jit Singh and his sons) will have no claim whatever after this life."

134. Shahamat Afi, *The Sikhs and Afghans, op. cit.*, p. 105.

on account of his keen far-sight, was anxious to provide against any possible complication arising in future. And such an eventuality did uctually arise in 1845 when the Sikhs invited Raghbar Dev and Devi Singh, sons of Raja Jit Siugh, to Lahore, to be restored to the *gaddi* of Jammu.

(d) Gulab Singh consolidates his position

After becoming the Raja of Jammu Gulab Singh began seeking satisfaction of the expansionist ambition than ever before. The semi-independent status of the Jammu principality as his ancestral property seems to have awakened in him bewitching dreams of the revival of the Dogra Raj in the hills, whose dusky twilight he and the Dogras of his generatlon had been in their adolescence. The Dido and Diwan Singh affairs had already shown the incffectiveness of the Sikh hold on Dogra Hills. Gulab Singh might have planned to exploit this weakness of the Lahore Darbar. He mighr have also realised the strength and security of a consolidated and well-knit hill principality against the freaks and caprices of Lahore Court and its contumelious soldiery. He was more interested in consolidating and strengthening his native land and being Dogra his anxiety for the welfare of the Dugar seems to have been foermost in his mind. He, therefore, "avoided Lahore, devoting his attention to the North-Eastern Provinces, which he wished to turn into a separate kingdom for himself."[135] He spent most of his time at Jammu and its neighbourhood, first in consolidating and, then, in extending his power, though when the occasion so required, he would dutyfully join the Sikh army in their military operations.[136]

In this way in the following two decades all the outer Hill regions and a considerable portion of the Middle Mountains, with the exception of Rajouri, were brought under the authority of either Gulab Singh or his brothers and in those days their interests were the same.[137] Under a family pact Gulab Singh, the eldest, looked after and administered all the estates of the family. He stamped out sedition throughout his possessions with a strong hand, pushed the frontiers of principality across the Himalayas in the north and upto the shores of the Jhelum in the west, served Ranjit Singh faithfully in the frontier compaigns and thereby established his influence and awe over the tribals upto the court of Kabul, and acquired important territortes in the Punjab on farm and secured lucrative contracts of salt mines, ferriers and timber. Similarly, his brothers, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh, also got jagirs and territories and lease of octroi duties which greatly added to the power and influene of the family. "Of late years," observed the writer of Adventures of an Officer, "Such has been the audacity, ability, and influencc of the brotherhood, or rather

135. Gough and Innes, *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars*, London, 1971, p. 56.

136. Drew, F., *The Northern Frontier of India*, rep. Delhi, 1973, p. 42, and *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, London, 1875, p. 13.

137. Drew, F., *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, London, 1875, p. 19.

of the two elders that no year has passed without an extension of their territorial acquisitions."[138]

Gulab Singh was at his best in dealing with the brothers of Kabul. He not only weakened the Afghan authority by sowing seeds of dissension among Amir D st Mnhammad Khan and his most influeneetial brothers, but also won over the latter to his party. Through them Gulab controlled the tribes of Hazara and Yusufzai, used them to enhance his own interests whenever circumstances reqaired.

(e) The Estates and Principalities of the Dogra Rajas

Gulab Singh's power and possessions have been extensive indeed. Large slices of territory he had conquered whereas the remaining he had acquired on lease from his grateful master, Ranjit Singh, who always bestowed on him a befitting reward for his loyal and useful services. In his early days at Lahore Darbar he had received service jagirs of Beol, Kharoti and Bhandian.[139]

Afterwards he received jagirs of Nihali, Lala-Chobara, Charwah and Ramgarh, and Riasi. In 1820 the family got their own hill territories of Jammu, Bhoti, Bandralta and Kishtwar. In 1822 and after, all the three brothers were made Rajas and rulers in their own right. When Gulab Singh was made Raja of Jammu in that year, he became the most influential and powerful grandee of the Sikh court.

By the year 1836 his power and influence had grown immense, and Baron Charles Hugal writing on January 13, 1836 observes that Gulab Singh "with his brothers, Dhian Singh and Sochet Singh, possesses a large district, which extends over inacessible mountains from Atock to Narpoor (Narpur) in the south-east and thence north to Ladak, besides other large estates in Punjab."[140] "These Brothers", Hugel rightly anticipated "who are powerful in money, troops, cannon and fortresses, would with great difficulty be brought into subjection by the arms of the feeble successors of Ranjit." Of course, these brothers knew very well how to dissimulate and the combination which they formed-Dhian the civilian, Suchet the soldier, and Gulab Singh combining a portion of the talents of both-was the most irresistible faction in the later days of Ranjit Singh.[141]

Meanwhile, other members of the family had also received extensive jagirs. In 1922, the youngest brother, Suchet Singh also was made Raja of Bandralta and Samba. In 1828, Dhian Singh was made Raja with the additional title '*Raja-i-Rajgan-Raja Kalan* ; and was given '*Raj-o-royasat mulk-i-Bhimber Chibhal*'—the principalities of Bhimber and

138. Lawrence, H.M., *Adventures of an Officer in the Punjab, in the service of Ranjit Singh*, London, 2 Vols,, 1846, p. 37.

139. *Gulab*, p. 116. These jagirs were conferred on the family in A.D. 1814.

140. Hugel, Baron Charles, *Travel in Kushmir and Punjab etc.* 1836, p. 288.

141. Sinha, N.K. *Ranjit Singh*, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

Chibhal, i.e. Punch. When in 1836 Dhian Singh's son, Hira Singh, was made Raja of Jasrota and surrounding territory, the sway of the Dogra family spread over all the hill territories between the Ravi and the Jhelum, with the exception of Rajouri.[142]

Dhian Singh and Hira Singh resided at Lahore and Suchet Singh, being an accomplished courtier was usually required to be present in the capital or was sent away occasionally on detached duty with troops with whom he was very popular. The responsibility of administering the family jagirs, therefore, devolved on Gulab Singh, who proved very adept in that art and succeeded in suppressing all rebellion in the Chibhal hills, in Riasi and Akhnur, and in Trikuta hills, so that in a short time all the hill tribes were tamed and reconciled. Though Gulab Singh had little patience with the rebels and used his cut and dried methods of a soldier, yet his system of supression was well suited to his age and situation and he was astonishingly successful in establishing peace in his hill territories. Gulab Singh got an opportunity to come in contact with those hill people whom he was destined to rule as Maharaja after 1846. He established his influence over the territoriers spreading from the Ravi to the Indus and beyond, to the tribals of the Yusufazai and the Kabul hills. "All the same," writes Jasquemont "Gulab Singh is more the master of his own house than is Ranjit in these distant possessions. There are two reasons for this, Gulab Singh pays his soldiers and retainers more regulary[143]....."

Ranjit Singh further entrusted to Gulab Singh the administration of large territories in the plains, and profitable farms and leases. In 1831 he leased out to him for 6 lakh rupees annual, the salt mines of Pind Dadan Khan, Katas, Bhera-Miani and Dangi as the administration of these territories had deteriorated. In a short space of time he set the house right by removing all lawlessness and irregularities and in this effort he had to be harsh and strict. Through the control of the supply of salt, its export beyond the Indus and its distribution through the Punjab and Delhi, Gulab Singh extended his influence, and as Lawrence emphasises, by holding the salt contracts he "interferes directly with the bread of every man in the country."[144]

Soon more extensive farms were leased out to him by the king of Lahore. In 1890 B E (1833 A.D.) Jhelum and Rohtas were given to him, and the year 1893 B E.[145] (1836 A.D.) saw the transfer of the lease territory of Gujrat to Gulab Singh[146]. These farms yielded Gulab Singh a large revenue.

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142. Shahamat Ali. *The Sikhs and Afghans, op. cit*, p. 102.
143. V. Jacquemont, 1831 –*Puniab Govt Record Office, Monograph No. 18,* p. 64.
144. H.M. Lawrence, *Adventures of an Officer, op. cit.*, p. 33.
145 Mirza Azim Beg, *Tarikh-i-Gujrat*, Lahore, 1370, p. 84 gives ths date 1894 (A.D. 1837).
146 *Gulabnama*, 136, Shahamat Ali, p. 62.

Gujrat was a great timber market which promised handsome returns. "On the accession of Raja Gulab Singh to the Jagirs of Aeen and of the neighbouring districts, he monopolised the timber trade, and the price of the article had in consequence, doubled.[147] With Wazirabad farmed to Raja Suchet Singh for 12 lakhs of rupees[148] the whole of the timber trade and boat making industry became a monopoly of these Dogra brothers, in addition to the monopoly of the salt trade already held by Gulab Singh since 1831. "The would-be merchant of Asia" had, in fact, grown into an international merchant combining, like the British East India Company, the trader, the administrator and the soldier in himself.

By the close of Ranjit Singh's reign, Gulab Singh seems to have extended his possession far into the northern Himalayas, upto the borders of Tibet.

Shahmat Ali has given a complete list of jagirs and farms held by the Dogra family in 1830. Total revenue from these jagirs amounted to Rs. 7,37,287 per annum. Gulab Singh was at the same time governor of the country lying between the Chenab and the Jhelum, which brought him a revenue of Rs. 25,45,000 per annum, in addition to 8 lakhs from salt mines.

All told, Gulab Singh's contribution to the Lahore exehequer was over 40 lakhs of rupees annually.

Other members of the Dogra family also raised large amounts of revenue. Snchet Singh's contribution for Wazirabad District alone amounted to Rs. 10,55,725 in addition to the lease of his jagirs for Rs. 3,06,865. Raja Hira Singh, son of Dhian Singh paid Rs. 4,62,115 per annum for Jasrota and other jagirs. Raja Dhian Singh contributed Rs. 2,91,112 annually for his jagirs of Chibhal and Bhimber, in addition to some 7 Lakhs for excise duty of Amritsar and Lahore cities. Thus, in various forms, the Dogra family alone contributed about 70 lakhs of rupees annually to the Lahore exchequer, which according to some authorities, formed one-third of the total revenue of Lahore Kingdom from various jagirs and farms, permits and duties.

After Ranjit's death Gulab Singh succeeded in getting additional farms and jagirs of Sialkot, Manawar and Khari-Khariali. He also aspired to the governorship of Peshawar and Kashmir. He could not get the former province due to the protests of British Government; and to the latter he appointed his own minion, Sheikh Mohi-ud-Din and became its virtual governor and ruler. During the year 1840-41 he conquered Skardu and its dependencies and attached Tibet so that his armies remained in occupation of a vast tract spreading over some 350 miles from the borders of Ladakh to the Western frontier of Nepal.

147. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
148. *Ibid.*, 57.

(f) Dhian Singh's Predominance at the Sikh Court

On the Dussehra day, in October, 1818, the office of Deodhi (Chamberlain) was entrusted to Dhian Singh Dogra—a man of great charm and courtesy[149] and the younger brother Suchet Singh was appointed conveyor of petitions.[150] The year marked the beginning of ascendancy of the Dogra family in the affairs of the Lahore Darbar[151]. The Maharaja tolerated no discourtesy or enmity shown to his Chamberlain, and in 1824 A.D. Moti Ram and his son Kirpa Ram incurred the displeasure of the Maharaja on that account, so that Moti Ram was removed from governorship of Kashmir, and his son was imprisoned and fined Rs. 1,20,000.

Through Dhian Singh's assiduity and capacity for organisation the court and palace of the Sikh ruler assumed order and dignity. "The sublime confusion" which marked itin 1809, had in 1827, given place to "the order and regularity of the whole assembly, the deference with which the sardars treated the Maharaja and the courtesy they observed towards each other." There was no rude familiarity and confusion, every one seemed to know his place and to be conscious of the station he fiilled[152].

Finally, in 1828, on the festival of the Baisakhi, Dhian Singh, who had now became a great favourite with the Maharaja, received the title of Raja of Bhimber which place had been seized from Sultan Khan.

The ceremony was performed with great state. and to mark the estimation in which Ranjit Singh held him, he added to it the title of Raja of Rajas, directed the officers of the court to present *nazars* to him, and to regard the newly created Raja as his principal minister, while a proclamation was issued, that if any one in future called him Main he should be fined 1000 rupees, and that if not a public servant, he should lose his nose and ears.[153]

As the Prime Minister of the Sikh Kingdom Dhian Singh Dogra exercised supreme influence and weilded immense power, and with Ranjit's failing health during the thirties (1831-1839) Dhian became the alter ego of Ranjit Singh. Even the settlement of the revenue, the audit of accounts and their adjustment, both in the military and civil departments which were done entirely by the Maharaja, were in the last two or three years, owing to his bad state of health, sometimes delegated to Raja Dhian Singh[154]. Thus these three brethern in time monopolized all the power and influence of the Lahore Court." Cunningham

149. Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh, Maharaja of Punjab*, 1780-1839, London, 1962, p 123.

150. *Ibid.*, Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh op. eit.*, Daftar II, p. 232.

151. Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh, op. cit.* p. 128.

152. Wade's Observation, quoted by N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh, op, cit.*, p. 185.

153. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans, op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

says that even "before his (Ranjit's) death the Rajas of Jammu had usurped to themselves the whole of the functions of the government"[156]. By virtue of this immense power and extensive possessions Gulab Singh and his brothers "had become nearly independent"[157] in the later years of Ranjit's reign. "After his death they became entirely independent, and maintained a large force of their own race (Dogras)."[158] Although it is not possible to prove the allegations with facts of the period prior to the Sikh invasion of Jammu in the beginning of 1845, yet the British officers always expressed the possibility that "these two (Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh) designed to share the rule of the whole Punjab between them, the plan being that Gulab Singh was to acquire the whole of Jammu, Kashmir and the North East generally, while Dhian Singh should rule at Lahore[159]. Such was the dread of their power and unity of purpose. They played a deep game, writes J.H. Gordon, in the intriguing policy of that time, bent on gaining power and on becoming independent, a policy which ultimately succeeded.[160]

In a letter to Gulab Singh written on 18th January, 1841 Maharaja Sher Singh drew a pen-picture of the power and influence of the family in the following words :

"..... Formerly, the most bright Emperor, now dwelling in heaven, so patronised you all the three brothers that all the subject people or soldiery, etc., and state officers became envious and also discouraged that the opportunity of serving the glorious Sarkar which you got, would not fall to the lot of anybody else all these days; that you people held the status of rulers, attendents as well as Wazirs, and-such position does not fall even to the lot of the sons and brothers of the Sarkar"[161].

155. Smyth, G.C. *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore, op. cit.*, p. 25
156. *J D. Cuningham's Hist. of the Sikhs op, cit,*, p. 201.
157. Hugh, Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardener*, London, 1898, p. 214.
158. *Ibid* , 214.
159. Gough and Innes, *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars*, op. cit., p. 50.
160. Gordon, Sir John J.H. *The Sikhs*, 1883, p. 121.
161. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama, op. cit.*, p. 222.

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GENERAL ZORAWAR SINGH'S
CONQUEST OF HIMALAYAN
TERRITORIES. 1834—1841.
Routes Followed by Dogra Armies
KHOTAN
YANGI R.
KARAKORAM
LINGZI-THONG
PLAINS
LIGHTEN
LANAK P.
GILGIT
DARDISTAN
SKARDU
BALTISTAN
DRAS
SOD
SAN-KU
PAS-KYUM
DKAR-RTSE
KHA-LA-RTSE
SA-SPO-LA.
BAB-SGO
LEH
SURU
SRINAGAR
PURIG
SAR-SGO-LA
KHAR-BU
LAMA-YU-RU
TOG
CHU-SOD
DRANGTSE
PAN-GONG L.
RUDOK
PAKISTAN
PUNCH
RIASI
MIRPUR
UDHAMPUR
KASHTWAR
JAMMU
CHAMBA
KATHUA
LAHUL
RUPSHU
HANLE
DENCHOK
TASHIGONG
TIBET
THOK
SIALKOT
PATHANKOT
KULU
SPITI
KAROK
CHURIT
CHUMURTI
GARGUNSA
(14100)
GARTOK
(15100)
JEHLUM
CHINAB
LAHORE
AMRITSAR
BEAS
JULLUNDHUR
TSAPARANG
DAGA
TOLING
(12 200)
KAILAS
TIRATHPURI
RAKASTAL
MANSROWAR L.
RAVI
SUTLAJ
TAKLAKOT
(13 800)
BALDAK
TO-YO
NEPAL

CHAPTER TEN

Expansion Of Jammu Raj

(A) CONQUEST OF LADAKH

From the nature of its physical features Ladakh has been considered since ancient days a separate political entity, subordinate at times to the Tibetan empire. Its earliest history therefore is that of Tibet in general, as it originally formed one of the provinces of the kingdom, governed as to temporal matters by an independent prince, and in spiritual affairs by the Guru Lama, or chief Pontiff of Lhasa.[1] Ladakh therefore played a secondary role under the suzerainty of Lhasa during the eighteenth century, and now and then had affairs with the neighbours, especially Baltistan. Probably during the reign of Delek Namgyal, who ruled from 1705 A.D. to 1724 A.D., the district of Spiti was reannexed to Ladakhi kingdom, and it was perhaps towards the end of his reign, or more probably of his successor's reign, that Ladakh was invaded and conquered by Murad, the Chief of Balti[5] who reigned from about A D. 1720 to 1750. The Ladakhis seem to have retaliated to these Balti forays into their land. Vigne[3] mentions an invasion of Balti by an army of Ladakhis during the reign of Ali Sher, the father of Ahmad Shah, the last chief of Balti. But the invaders were defeated and obliged to surrender.[4] Again in 1821 a large Balti[2] force entered the Ladakhi territory, plundered the villages and returned with loot.[5] The weak rule of Tsepal, the Ladakhi ruler, and the internal intrigues going on there had encouraged Ahmad Shah who made capital out of the Ladakhi difficulties to carry on frequent inroads and loot in its territories.

TSEPAL Namgyal (1790-1834 and 1840-41) was the last king of this Ladakhi dynasty which was subverted by the Dogras. He had inherited the throne from his brother. Since the days of Aurangzeb down to the days of Muhammad Shah, Ladakh had paid through Kashmir, a small annual tribute to the court of Delhi[6], and the same had been continued to be paid to the Durranis of Kabul after the secession of the Punjab to them by the Mughal emperor in 1752.

1. Wilson : *Moorcroft's Travels*, 1837, p. 200.
2. Vigne's *Kashmir*, II, p. 253; A Cunningham: *Ladak*, pp. 330-331.
3. Wigne's *Kashmir*, p. 254.
4. A Cunningham : *Ladak*, p. 331.
5. *Foreign Deptt. Pol. Proc*,. 20 September, 1822, No. 63—NAI.
6. Wilson : *Moorcroft's Travels*, Patiala. 1970, p. 248.

The Dogra expedition for the conquest of Ladakh started in 1834. The Dogra Raja Gulab Singh had, before embarking on his Himalayan conquests, ascertained British views and extracted in some form Maharaja Ranjit Singh's implied consent. In conquering Ladakh the Maharaja had in fact "provided a base from which the dominions of Lahore Darbar could be extended beyond the Himalayas."[7]

The conquest of Ladakh was also a necessary corollary to the occupation of Kashmir valley by Ranjit Singh. As Major Hearsay notes: "In the event of an enemy wishing to conquer Kashmir that place could always be invaded from the Ladakh side and the task of invasion would become easier in the winter with the snow frozen and all the rivers and water courses passable over the ice.[8] The Sikh troops would not be able to fight at an advantage there in the winter. As such it was necessary for Ranjit Singh after the conquest of Kashmir to subdue Ladakh and to maintain it as a buffer. For perhaps similar reasons Gulab Singh was personally interested in possessing Ladakh before the Sikh governor of Kashmir could forestall him there. In Cunningham's opinion theeefore, the invasion of these countries was "postponed till Gulab Singh had consolidated his power in his newly acquired territory of Kashmir."[9]

The tribute, however, was demanded from Ladakh as soon as Kashmir valley was conquered and annexed to the Sikh State in 1819. Ladakh had continued to pay annual tribute to the Durranis since A.D. 1752, which had been held in abeyance due to disturbances attendant on continuous Sikh invasions of the valley. Ranjit Singh revived that claim and "intimated some purpose of iustituting the claim on Ladakh, and demanding the continuation of the tribute from his weaker neighbour."[10] Encouraged perhaps by the presence in Leh of the British political traveller. Moorcroft, the Ladakhi king reacted boldly to the ultimatum of the Sikh governor of Kashmir for the payment of tribute, and refused to recognise the suzerainty of the Khalsa Maharaja and terminated all tribute payments[11]. The Sikh involvement in the hostilities against the Afghans and the cis-Satluj hill states, enabled Ladakh to severe all connections with Kashmtr for more than a decade and enjoy an autonomous status and the weak and distant state was little molested until the Rajas of Jammu found themselves strong enough to subjugate it in the name of the Sikh chief.

By the middle of the thirties Raja Gulab Singh Dogra too had realised the value of holding Ladakh for himself and hence he took adequate steps to conquer it. According to wade Gulab Singh did this

7. Kohli, S.R. : *Sunset of Sikh Empire*, P. 19.
8. 'Hearsay's Note'...*Asiatic Journal*, Vol. xviif, 1835,
9. Cunningham, A : *Ladakh*, p. 332.
10. Wilson : *Moorcroft's Travels* rep. Patiala, 1970, Vol. II, 248-49.
11. Fisher, Rose, Huttenback, *Himalayan Battlegrond*, p. 44,

"in order to strengthen his means of seizing Kashmir itself when the expected opportunity may offer."[12] Apart from the encirclement of Kashmir, Gulab Singh like great feudatories, desired to extend his principality. His object of reaching out for Nepal cannot be ruled out. He seems to have initiated the policy in 1834 which culminated surprisingly in his conquest of Western Tibet upto the borders of Nepal in 1841.

A pretext for invasion was soon found in internal dissensions among the ruling family of Ladakh. Raja Giapo-Cho of Timbus wanted to drive out the Raja of Saut from his territories and, therefore, he sent a complaint in this connection to their overlord Tse-pal, the Gyalpo of Ladakh. The Gyalpo, however, took no immediate action in the matter Thereupon, the Raja of Timbus secretly sought the help of Wazir Zorawar Singh. the Hakim of Kishtwar on behalf of Raja Gulab Singh.[13] Zorawar Singh was quick in grasping the opportunity of implementing his master's designs of the conquest of Ladakh. Gulab Singh sent him against Ladakh with 4 or 5 thousand Dogra army through Kishtwar from whence the Ladakh provinces of Purig, the state of the 'Thi' Sultans, was reached. This attempt at the direct conquest of the kingdom was not without great risks, and of these the Dogra chief was probably aware. The severe cold of the climate was certain to reduce the usefulness of the Dogra warriors, at least during the winter months; the barrenness of the country prohibited the mobilisation of a large army. Lack of the knowledge of the roads made slow progress advisable [15] But the Dogra General seems to have anticipated these hardships and had made befitting provision to over come them.

He had chosen experienced Dogra soldiers who were far superior to the Ladakhis in armaments as well as military tacticts and discipline. But one of the greatest advantage the Dogra obtained was surprising the Ladakhi kingdom at the time of the deepest peace.[16]

This first thrust into the Ladakhi border was made in 1834. The Chief Dogra officers who led this compaign under the command of Wazir Zorawar Singh Dogra were, according to Basti Ram's account,[17] the following :

1. Mian Rai Singh, 2. Mehta Basti Ram, 3. Mirza Rasul Beg,
4. Rana Zalim Singh, 5. Singhe Mankotia, 6. Mian Tuta,
7. Sirdar Uttam Singh, 8. Wazir Khojah Bhunjah.

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12. *Asiatic Journal*, 3rd January, 1838, No. 26.

13. Hashmatullah Khan, Maulvi, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 345.

15. Francke, A.H. *A Hist, of Western Tibet*, p. 139.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Francke, A.H. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, p. 257. To this list Hashmat Ullah adds three more names, viz., Imam-Malik, Sayyid Madeen Shah and Sardar Sammad Khan (see *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 345.

Advance on Sunku and Suru—August 1834.

Bkra-Sis-Dban-phyang of Sod was in command of rhe castle of Dkar rtse (Kartse) in the Suru Valley. He sent to Leh the report of Dogra invasion.[18] On this report the Ladakhi king issued a call to arms in Ron-Chu-Gud, Ldum-ra, Sbalti-yul, Ladvags, and Purig.[19] The Ladakhi king appointed Dorje Namgyal, the minister of Tog, as the commander of this force.

The Dogra troops entered the Ladakh territory by the pass at the head of the Suru Valley,[20] Bakra-Sis was the first Ladakhi noble to bear the brunt of the Dogra attack. Like a selfless patriot he sent the intellegence of Dogra invasion to Leh, collected some 200 men at Kartse in Suru Valley, fought the Dogras for two days and was killed along with his son.[34] The Dogras were, however, opposed by the main Ladakhi army consisting of 5,000 men under Dorje Nam-Gyal (or Mangal of Basti Ram's account), the young minister of Tog, on the 16th August, 1834,[22] at Sunku. The Ladakhis had taken positions on the top of a hill and they defended it for a whole day but at last they were dislodged by the Dogras with only 6 or 7 killed and 5 or 6 wounded.[23] The Ladakhis lost about 30 men. The Dogras stayed there for the night, and on the next morning advanced on Suru and occupied it. There they halted for eight days.[25] In order to assure supply of grain and grass in that barren land; and perhaps to win the goodwill of the canquered people, wazir Zorawar Singh prohibited his troops from cutting the corn, which was then ripe, and "his politic conduct was rewarded by the immediate submission of the Zamindars, who came over to him in a body, and placed themselves under his protection."[26] The wazir them built a small fort-kila Suru kursi of Vigne's map which he occupied for a month.[27] Thus the most important fortress of the district Kartse fell to the Dogra hands, which was once the seat of the powerful Thai or Thi Sultans. The Dogras then took the uncccupied fort of Shakhar. The wazir reinstated the Zamindars of Janguri and Shakhar in their villages and made a summary settlement of the district by imposing a tax of four rupees upon each house.[28] Small pickets were then stationed at various places to keep the people in control.

18. La-Dwags-Rgyal-Rabs, *Arch. Surv. Ind.* Vol. L, p, 127.
19. Tse-Brhan's Account, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. L. p. 250.
20. Francke, A.H. The Antiquities of Indian Tibet, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. L.p. 257.
21. *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 'La-Dvags--Rgyal-Rabs,' p. 127.
22. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Vol. II, p. 257; A. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, p. 333.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Tse-Brtan's Account of the Dogra War, *Arch. Surv. Ind.* New Imperial Ser. Voi. L. p. 250.
25. Cunningham, A *Ladakh*, p. 333.
26. Basti Ram's Account of the Dogra War, *Anti. of Ind. Tibet*, p. 258.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Tse-Brtan's Acconnt of Dogra War, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, p. 251,

The wazir left 35 men in Suru fort and 10 men on the bridge over the Suru river and advanced on Lang Kartse and Manji, and the bridge of Pashkyum. Lang-Kartse was easily occupied and Dogras threw up trenches there and remained in that position for over a month.

The young minister of Stog had arrived there. Soon minor Skrimishes took place without any result. Meanwhile there was a snowfall and the Ladakhis decided to take advantage of it and went to war with the Dogras[28]. But it was worse for them. The minister of Stog was killed and some 50 or 60 Ladakhis fell in the battlefield. The Ladakhis effected their retreat across the bridge and by a skilful manoeurvre they pulled it down. The Dogras, however, crossed the river next day on inflated skins without any opposition. The Chief of Pashkum fled to the fort of Sod where with the aid of reinforcement which had been mobilised and despatched by the king of Ladakh he determined to hold out.[29]. The old king of Ladakh had sent his minister, Ngorub-Standztn and Bankhapa to mobilise all those districts which had not yet sent any warriors and now a force of about 4,000[30] men was expected to arrive at Sod fort, a little north of Kargil. But the Dogras set siege to the fort before the force reached Sod and raised a battery against it. The firing continued for ten days but because of the stubborn resistance of the kiladar Salam Khan there was yet no hope of any success for the Dogras, although they had lost 40 men. The wazir, who was at Puskham, ordered Basti Ram to make a vigorous assault with 500 men. Basti Ram attacked the fort at the close of night, and under cover of battery he stormed open the fort by day break. The Chief (Gyalpo) of Puchkam was made prisoner along with a large number of Ladakhis.[31]

At the time when Zorawar Singh Dogra invaded Ladakh and had taken possession of western provinces of Suru and Dras and had advanced into the valley of Pashkyum, the eccentric British traveller Dr. Henderson chanced to be present at Leh. The ruler of Ladakh tried to make use of him to reassure his people and to outwit the Dogras. He refused to suffer him to quit Ladakh. For three months poor Henderson was detained there. During this interval Zorawar Singh's military operations were suspended and he apprised Gulab Singh of the supposed envoy's arrival, requesting fresh instructions. On Gulab Singh's representation through Maharaja Ranjit Singh the British resident assured the Maharaja that the British Government had nothing to do with Dr. Henderson, and that there was not the slightest idea of interfering with Ranjt's plans of extending his conquests northwards. Zorawar Singh, was therefore, desired to proceed with his operations.[32] Incidentally, this Henderson affair shows Ranjit Singh's keen interest in the conquest of Ladakh by the Dogra Raja Gulab Singh, and also belies Wade's assertion that the Maharaja did not like the conquest of Ladakh [33]

29. Basti Ram's Account of the Dogra War, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, p. 258.
30. Francke. A.H. *A Hist. of Western Tibet*, p. 141.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, 1845, pp. 101-102 ; A Cunningham, *Ladakh*. pp. 10-11.
33. *Pol. Procd.* January, 1938, No 26.

A Spiritual Resistance by Ladakhis and the Dogra Occupation of Leh.

These political negotiations were prolonged for three months and the winter had set in. The cold began to be felt in the Dogra camp as it was probably the mid November and Wazir Zorawar Singh and his men would have very much liked to make peace and return to Kishtwar for the winter. He levied taxes on the peasants of Pashkyum district, and then sent an envoy to open negotiations with the Ladakhis. A whole month was then wasted in negotiations and finally the Tibetan cnmmanders agreed to negotiate a peace settlement on terms of the payment of rupees 15,000 demanded by the wazir. They forwarded the letter to the king of Ladakh who had by this ume arrived at Mulbe with a large army, accompanied by Banka Kahlon and four chiefs named Gapaju, Dorje Nam-Gyal, Chovang Nabdan the Kahlon of Bazgo and Rahim Khan of Chachot. The king and his ministers were inclined to accept the terms and even ordered the demanded sum to be despatched out of the royal treasury. But one of the queens "Zi-Zi" interfered and prohibited the payment of the sum and said "Minister of Stog is of no use. Therefore Dhos-grub bstan-hdzin and the minister of Ldum-ra should go and bring wazir's head or to lose their own."[34]

This stiff attitude of the queen led to renewed and strenuous military activity coupled with treachery. They opened negotiations, sent envoys to the Dogra camp and showed preparedness to agree to honourable terms. But they treacherously seized the Dogra envoys and threw them down the bridge of Darkech. At the same time Banka Kahlon attacked the Dogras in the rear and made many prisoners, who were thrown bound into the river.[35]

On this wazir, realised the danger of the situation. retreated to Langkartse with some difficulty and took shelter in the fort of Thai Sultans. There the Dogras remained unmolested for four months of winter.

During this time the Ladakhis increased their army by further mobilisation. In April 1835,[36] when winter was over the Ladakhis about 22,000 men under Banka Kahlon advanced to Langkartse.[37] They halted for a consulation, which ended in the whole body sitting down to prepare evening meal. The Dogras attacked them with their swords and put the whole Ladakhi force to rout. Banka Kahlon and the other Ladakhi leaders became alarmed and fled. Some 400 of them perished by the fall of a snow-bed and about 1200 were taken prisoners, along with Moru-Todzi the Kahlon and his son Hgyurmed.[38]

34. La-dvags-Rgyal-Rabs, "*Antiquities of Indian Tibet.* p. 128.
35. "Bast! Ram's Account of the Dogra War'. *Arch. Surv. of Ind. New Imperial Ser,,* Voi. L, p. 249.
36. Vigne, *Kashmir,* II. p. 253, says the Spring of 1835.
37. *Ibid,* The number 22,000 seems to be much exaggerated.
38. *Ibid.*

After this disastrous defeat at Lang Karchu the Ladakhi army retreated as far as Mulbe, and the Dogras moved down to Pashkyum for the second time. When the Ladakhis heard of this movement, they retired still furthur towards Leh followed by the Dogars[39]. Those Purig Chiefs who had been kept as prisoners by Tse-pal some time before, served as guides to the Dogras.

From Pashkyum the Dogras marched by Shergol to Mulbe where they halted for fifteen days and then proceeded via Kharbu to Lama Yuru when they were met by an envoy with a letter from Sultan Akbat Mahmud (Tesepal) the king of Ladakh, suing for peace and agreed to pay tribute. Zorawar Singh met him at Basgo. The Gyalpo received the wazir kindly.[40]

After a ten-day stay there the Ladakhi king and wazir Zorawar Singh moved to Leh. The wazir was accompained only with 100 men. It appea.s that peace negotiations had been practically finished at Bazgo,[41] and that Zorawar Singh went to Leh only, as he said, "to see the capital."[42] At Leh an interesting incident occured. When the wazir was preparing to offer his usual *Sadka* of Rs, 100 (a bag of money waved around the head of the person to whom to present it), to Gyalpo's son, named Changraftan, then only 17 years of age, the prince, mistaking the action either for an insult or for treachery drew his sword. His followers did the same, and the Dogras also drew the swords. On this the Gylapo fell upon his knees, and clasped the wazir's hands, while the prince and his followers retired into the fort of Leh. Some horsemen carried the intelligence to the Dogra Camp at Bazgo, when 6,000 men started at once for Leh, which they reached the next morning.[43]

For four months the wazir remained at Leh when finally the second part of the peace negotations took place in the Karzo garden, where Zorawar had his tent. The wazir's first act was to restore the whole kingdom to Tsepal[44]. The klngdom, however, was hence forth considered the vassal state of the Dogra kingdom of Jammu, and the king promised to pay an indemnity of 50,000 rupees and an annual tribute of 20,000 rupees. Of the first sum of Rs. 37,000 was paid atonce, partly in cash and partly in jewells. The balance the Gyalpo promised to pay in two instalments, the first of Rs. 6,000 at

39. Francke, A H.. *A Hist. of Western Tibet*, p. 145.
40. Francke. A.H. "Basti Ram's Account of the Dogra War"—*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Pt. II, p. 260.
41. Francke, A.H. *A Hist. of the Western Tibet*, p. 146
42. Francke, A.H. Tse-brtan's Account, "*Antiquties of Indian Tibet*, Pt. II, p. 252.
43. Cunningham, A. Ladakh. p. 338-39, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Vol. II p. 250.
44. *Arch. Surv. of India, New Imperial Series.* V. L. La-dvags-rgyal-rabs, p. 129.

the end of one month, and the second of Rs. 7,000 at the end of four months.[45] The wazir then retreated to Lama Yuru.

Revolts in Ladakh and its Annexation.

This treaty did not end Dogra difficulties with Ladakh. Zorawar Singh had to spend much of the next five years supressing revolts in various parts of Ladakh, and periodically changing kings in an effort to find a satisfactory puppet king A furthur complication arose from the fact that a number of Sikh officials were jealously exposed towards the Dogras as regards their policy of expansion in the neighbourhood of Kashmir.

The first such revolt was headed by the chief of Sod who fell upon the Dogra fort at Suru, captured it and put to death whole of the fifty-five man Dogra garrison there.[46] On the receipt of the report of this event he hurriedly marched from Lama Yuru to which place he had withdrawn from Leh. The enemy had dispersed so he stayed at Sod for a fortnight and then suddenly fell upon the Botis by a night artack, killing 13 of them and be-heading other 200 who were taken prisoner. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been provoked by Mihan Singh, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, out of jealousy as well as due to the decay of Shawl-wool trade in Kashmir for it was now directed from Ladakh to Jammu and the Punjab via Kishtwar.[47]

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was evidently contented to receive a tribute of Rs. 30,000 presented to him by Raja Dhian Singh for the Dogra occupation of Ladakh This tribute was sent by Gulab Singh directly to Ranjit Singh "presumably because he did not want to provide the Srinagar authorities any basis for a claim to Ladakh after the expected dismemberment of the Sikh empire."[48]

After subduing the chief of Sod and the reduction of Suru in September 1835, the wazir marched to Zanskar the chief of which place together with all the Zamindars waited upon him and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and half for every house. When all this had been accomplished the wazir went to Jammu to report his success to his master, Gulab Singh. But soon after his departure another revolt was engineered by the Sikh governor of Kashmir. The Gyalpo (king) of Ladakh listened to his advise and revolted in Leh closed the road to merchants and imprisoned and tortured Munshi Daya Ram, whom the wazir had stationed at Leh as his representative. This news distressed the Wazir and in his anxiety to surprise the rebels at the earliest, he chose a direct route and under the direction of a Bhoti guide reached the village of Tsmur or Chumri on the

45. Francke, A.H. Basti Ram's Account of the Dogra War, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Vol. II. p. 260.

46. Francke, A.H., *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Vol. II, p. 260.

47. Fisher, Rose, Huttenback, *Himalayan Battleground*, p. 47.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

right bank of the Indus on road leading to Rudok, in ten days' forced marches, a distance of about 300 miles. The march must had taken place in the end of November, 1835, at the season of the year when the winter's snow had already set in throughout Ladakh, when all the higher passes are finally closod.

The Gyalpo was taken by surprise and he found wisdom in hurrying to welcome the wazir and to express his sorrow. The heir-apparent of Ladakh fled to Lahul where he died soon after. The wazir demanded the balance of Rs. 13,000, besides the additlonal expenses of the army. In absence of any cash the wazir was obliged to take tne property of the royal ladies and the ministers of the Gyalpo, as nothing better could be got out of the country.[49] The wazir then deposed the old king and installed in his place Moru-pa Tadzi, the minister of Leh, while the Gyalpo was allowed the village of Stog in jagir, together with the taxes of about sixty peasants.[50]

Zorawar coud not, however, confiide in the fidelity of an opportunist. He therefore built a fort at Leh, and placed 300 soldiers in it under Dalel Singh, who was appointed '*thanadar*' of the place. The wazir then went back to Jammu, taking along Ngorub Standzin's son and some other respectable men as hostages. This arrangement was probably made in the spring of 1836. Gulab Singh and his son Udhamsingh, did not. however, approve of this arrangement as Moru did not belong to the royal family of Ladakh. The wazir had not to wait for long to set the things right. Moru also listened to the Sikh governor of Kashmir and rebelled and won over to his side influential men of Purig and Kargil. Kahlon Rahim Khan of Kargil killed the *thanadar* of Padar and his 20 men. The people of Purig also rose in revolt under their leader Su-Ka-nir and murdered Nidhan Singh kardar of Kargil and Dras and slanghtered whole of tne Dogra garrison.[51] Dogra troops all over the country were beleagured in their different :orts.[52]

On hearing of these occurences the wazir started at once with a body of 3000 infantry, probably in the beginning of the spring of 1839.[53] Due to the swollen state of rivers, it took him about two months to reach Balde (Padar) where he stormed the fort of Chaturagarh, raized it to the ground and built a new Dogra fort named Gulabgarh, properly garrisoned it and marched for Zanskar crossing the high pass, nearly 19,000 feet above sea. The people of Zanskar fled on the approach of the wazir, who made summary arrangements of the district in haste and proceeded towards Leh.

49. Francke, A.H., *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, p 262 *o*; and *A History of Western Tibet*, p. 150.
50. *Ibid. A Hist. of W. Tibet*, p. 149.
51. Hashmrtullah, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, pp. 360-61 ; Francke, *Antiquilies, og, ct*, II p. 252.
52. Cunningham, A., *Ladak*, 343.
53. Francke, *A Hisi. of W. Tibet*. p. 151.

Moru Tadzi, the new Gyalpo, took fright at the wazir's stormy approach and fled towards Spiti, but was captured at the village of Tabo in Spiti, taken back to Leh, and imprisoned there.[54] Suka-mir was singled out as the arch-instigator of rebellion in Purig and Ladakh and his right hand was cut off. His tongue also suffered the same fate.

The old Gyalpo Akabut Mahmud, and the new one, Moru Tadzi, were both brought before the wazir, who deposed the latter, and reinstated the former upon the old terms of Rs. 23,000 annual tribute but with a stipulation that the expenses of the troops which occupied the country should also be defrayed by him.

After inspiring awe in the people of Ladakh and Zanskar, and Purig the wazir returned to Jammu. But during the spring of 1840 he was again called to Ladakh with 5,000 men. to nip the revolt in bud which was being engineered by Moru Tadzi, the Kahlon of Banka, and the Kahlon of Bazgo, both of whom had been plotting against the Gyalpo, in association with Ahmed Khan of Balti. He seized both the Kahlons and several others and transported them all to Jammu. He now annexed Ladakh to Jammu Raj, appointed Magna the *thanadar* of the district. entrusted the administration of Ladakh to him and pensioned off the Gyalpo who was suffered to retain the nominal title and his royal palace.

The Ladakhi resistance thus broke down before the superior arnaments and generalship of the Dogras who were also adept in the latest teehniques of warfare implanted in Ranjit Singh's armies by his European officers. Ladakhi rulers had no standing armies, nor the adequate weaponary. It was perhaps the nature of land and the severe climate which fought the Dogras better than the Ladakhi rabble of soldiers had done. Zorawar's awe-inspiring personality weeded out the undergrowth of rebellion from Ladakhi soil. He also reconciled them to their new subordinate status by making them co-partners in the further Dogra conquests of Baltistan and Tibet, and soon Ladakhi people came to consider their land an integral part of Gulab Singh's dominion.

(B) Conquest of Baltistan

Baltistan is composed of enormous mountain-chains, or masses of mountains. While 18,000 and 20,000 feet is common height, there are in the north-easterly parts, peaks of 25,000 and 26,000, and one above 28,000 feet. These give rise to the largest known glaciers, out of the Arctic regions. Of the valleys, the most important are the Indus valley and the valley of the Shayok, ihat joins it. and that of Shigar, which combines with united valley of Skardu[55].

54. Cnnninghem, A., *Ladak*, p. 344.

55. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories.*, p. 360.

This mountainous country, in the Indus valley, west of Ladakh, was an ancient Kingdom[56], comprised of the following tiny principalities under hereditary chieftains owing fealty to the ruler of Skardu to whom they were usually related :

> Shardu, Rondu and Shigar to the north of it ; Khapulu, Parkuta, Tolti, Khartakshe to the east and north-east ; and Astor to the west of it.

While Dogras were consolidating their power in Kishtwar and Ladakh during the twenties and thirties of nineteenth century, these tiny principalities were quarrelling among themselves and now and then fighting with their neighbour, Ladakh. Consequently dissensions and unrest prevailed among the Baltis and the Balti dynasty itself was rent with family feud between the ruler Ahmad Shah and his eldest son, Mohammad Shah.

The Balti chief had professed allegiance to the Mughal and Durrani governor of Kashmir. But after the occupation of that province by the Sikhs in 1819, Ahmad Shah feigned independence. Out of fear of a Sikh invasion he had tried an alliance with the Company's Government through English visitors like Moorcroft, Vigne and Dr. Falconer but without any result. But he continued making efforts. He wrote to them in 1825 and then in 1829 and since then he kept a clandestine correspondence with the British and persisted in his efforts to get British protection in some form. The British Government, however, was wedded to its policy of non-interference in such affairs because on the one hand they reciprocated Ranjit's policy of non-confrontation where their interests were not directly involved, and on the other they did not yet give much weight to the Dogra policy of expansion towards the impassable Himalayans as they did later on in 1841 and 1842. Gulab Singh, however, thought it prudant to postpone his attack on Baltistan for some time and feel his way[57], probably in view of the visits of the above mentioned European travellers.

The postponement of this enterprise was due to certain other obvious reasons also, the one being the jealousy of the Sikh governors of Kashmir till the appointment of Mian Singh who was alarmed into concession by the powerful and ambitious Rajas of Jammu and he left Iskardu and the whole valley of the upper Indus a free field for the aggressions of their lieutenants[58].

Another potent cause was the conclusion of the Tripartite treaty of 1839 which, Gulab Singh felt, could be invoked against his intended conquests on the Indus. The British agent, C.M. Wade, however, assured the Jammu family that the limitation put upon Sikh conquests to the west and south by the Tripartite Treaty would not apply to the north or Tibetan side, in which direction, it was said, they were free

56. Drew, *Northern Frontier of India.* p. 200.
57. Sinha, N.K., *Ranjit Singh,* 1951, p. 127.
58. Cunningham, J.D., *Hist. of the Sikhs,* 1916, p. 127.

to act as they might please[59] as "there can be no reason for interference on the part of this Government!"[60]. Thus the British and Sikh authorities had acquiesced in Gulab Siugh's ambitions in Baltistan, it was not difficult for Zorawar Singh to find an excuse for invasion on the Balti which in fact Ahmad Shah had himself provided some years back. early in 1835. While he was halting at Suru on way to the first expedition to Leh, Muhammad Shah, the eldest son of Raja Ahmad Shah of Baltistan, had sought Zorawar's protection.

"Ahmad Shah, the reigning chief of Balti, had differences with his family, and he proposed to pass over his eldest son in favour of a younger one, Muhammad Ali, in fixing the succession."[61] The aggrieved prince fled to the camp of Zorawar Singh in Puru and claimed his protection, which the wazir readily granted and made proper arrangement of his stay at Puru and the Balti prince remained there for about two years, when he was sent to Leh. It seems that some effort was made to strike a reconciliation between the father and son and the latter had returned to his father, but the reconcilation could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince again fled to Leh and sought refuge with the Gyalpo Dnorub Standzin, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogras Ahmad Shah sent a small party of 50 men which carried off the the Balti prince from Leh.

While at Zanskar the wazir heard of the prince's seizure by the party of Balti troops and he determined at once upon the conquest and annexation of that principality. A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmad Shah, informing that his men, who had sought the Maharaja's protection had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladakh territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmad Shah gave no reply[62], so he resolved to give Ahmad Shah a lesson concerning the most natural law of succession."[63]

By now he had become master of the situation in Ladakh and Zanskar as rebellions had been suppressed with a strong hand, and the rebel leaders had been weeded out one by one The inviting situation in Baltistan suggested the wazir the idea of keeping the Ladakhis, old enemies of Baltis, humoured by offering them an occasion to avenge the wrong done to them by Baltis in the past. He, therefore, raised a Ladakhi army of about 7 or 8 thousand, including camp-followers of course, and placed them under the command of their old general Kahlon Bankapa. The old Gyalpo was also made to accompany

59. Wade, C.M. *Narrative of Service*, p. 33 n.
60. *Political Consultations, For. Deptt.*, No. 129, Governor-General to Clerk 1-3-1841.
61. Cunningham, J.D., *Hisiory of the Sikhs*, p. 218.
62. Cunningham, A. *Ladakh* p. 345.
63. Francke, A.H. *Hist. of W. Tibet*, p. 156.

them.[64] They were ordered to enter Baltistan by Hanu and the Chorbat Pass. When this army reached Hanu, it was placed under the supreme command of Dogra Officer, Madin Shah (Mohiuddin). This portion of the army never came in sight of the enemy, and reached Iskardu in course of time without having fired a bullet.[65]

The Dogra portion of the army was led by the wazir himself who marched to Gar Gono by the road leading to Balti through Marol and Kharmang. The wazir crossed over to the right bank of the Indus, near Gar Gono and reached Pansikhar in Saut district where he punished the rebels and annexed the whole Purig territory to the Dogra dominion and appointed '*thandars*' at Dras and Suru and stationed Dogra pickets under them.[66] Thus securing his rear the wazir advanced along the right bank of the Indus in an effort to find a road to get round the many percipices and empty gaps.

As soon as Ahmad Shah heard of the Dogra invasion he took prompt steps to block both the roads of Chorbat and Marol. He raised a contingent from Kurrus and Khapulu and despatched it under Yostrang Karim behind Chor-bat, and directed all the contingents of Rondu and Kharmang to march under Bodopa wazirs, Ghulam Hassan and Gulam Hussain, to a place opposite Marol on the Balti boundary in order to intercept Zorawar's advance. According to one estimate this armed multitude of the Baltis, comprised of combatants and non-combatants, numbered some twenty thousand.[67] This army set up its camp at a high plateau, three or four miles above Marol village, before Zorawar's arrival at Cheche Thung, where the wazir had to leave the right bank and cross over to the left because of the junction of the Suru river with the Indus on the right. The Baltis had broken down the bridge to delay the advance of the Dogras. Thus the Dogras had to continue their march along the right bank which was strewn with hazardous cliffs and abysses, steadily for 20 days receiving the submission of the chiefs and, but without finding any place where the army could be crossed.[68] It was probably the month of December 1839.[69] Zorawar's men were faced in that desolation with cold, run down provisions and overwhelming enemy growing in number and boldness everyday. In desperation Zorawar Singh had to detach Mian Nidhan

64. Hashmat Ullah, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 364.

65. Francke, A.H. *A Hist. of W. Tibet*, p. 156.

66. Hashmat Ullah, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 361.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 364.

68. Francke, A.H. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Vol. II, p. 264,

69. C.L. Datta, *Ladakh and the Western Himalayan Politics*, p. 122. Hashmat Ullah says it was in the winter of 1840, of, *Tarikh i-Jammn*, p. 363. A. Cunningham, *Ladak* p. 346, and Francke, *Antiqulties.*, p 264, have also 1840. But a newsletter, dated May 9, 1840 conveys the news of "the transfer of the Government of Iskardo to Muhammad Shah, the Gyalpo"s exiled son. "Cf. *Press Lists*, Vol. VII, 149/13, of 9-5-1840 G.R. Clerk to T.H. Maddock. This supports the date of November/December for the commencement of Zorawar's Balti expedition.

Singh with his body of 5,000 men by way of Shigar, to look for a road. The Baltis allowed him to advance for about 15 miles when his party was surrounded and attacked by thousands and he himself was cut off with nearly the whole of the detachment,[70] only some 400 escaped to the Dogra camp with the tale of their defeat. The situation of the Dogra army on the right bank grew worse and worse, as hardly any provisions could be transported there, and the cold of the winter made itself badly felt in the narrow valleys and gorges.

"At that time the winter set in with a heavy fall of snow. Provisions became extremely scarce. Consequently, the Dogra troops became so much dissipated that their discipline was seriously affected. With an impassable river in the front, and certain starvation both from cold and hunger, whether they retreated or remained in their present position, the majority of troops paid no attention to orders, and of the few who still obeyed, none did so with alacrity. The Dogra army had halted in this position for 15 days, exposed to frost by night and to hunger by day. Many had sought shelter from the snow among the over-hanging rocks, and there they sat listless and vacant and utterly indifferent whether they would be cut off by the sword of the enemy, or be fronzen to death by cold.[71]

Realising the desperate state of affairs the wazir himself set out in search of a passage, but had to come back unsuccessful. Meanwhile, colonel Basti Ram, with a team of forty men, assisted by several Dards from the village Da, succeeded in constructing an ice-bridge on the Indus in the darkness of the night and the river became fordable.

It is said that Raja Ali Sher Khan of Kartaksha was in secret correspondence with the wazir from the time the latter had reached Cheche thung, where he tendered his submission to the Dogra and secretly helped him. It was with the help of Ali Sher's men from the Marol bank and of the Dards on the Cheche-thung, that the ice-bridge was constructed secretly in a few hours just below the Wanko-la above which wazir Ghulam Hussian had entrenched his large army and barred the Dogra advance.[72]

As soon as the wazir received the intelligence of this success he ordered this party of 40 men to cross the Indus, but they have been so benumbed by their night's work and their previous exposure, that ten of them sank down exhausted and afterwards lost their hands and feet, and 18 others were unable to get through the snow. Basti Ram was then left with only twelve men, which the Botis perceiving they moved to attack him. But the wazir exhorted his men to his rescue. A number of Dogras advanced gladly to the attack. The Indus was rapidly crossed, and the small party of daring men, after a smart fight

70. Francke, A.H. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Pt. II, p. 264.

71. Cunningham, A. *Ladak*, p. 346.

72. Hashmat Ullah, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, pp-365-66.

were safe. The Botis retreated, leaving 200 men[73] dead on the field, and 100 men wounded. The Dogras lost only 25 killed, and 15 or 16 wounded in the action, hut they had about 500 men more or less disabled by the loss of hands or feet during the exposure to the snow of the last few days.[74]

The retreating Botis were pursued, and slaughtered for nine miles as far as Marwan, where the victorious Dogras pitched their camp. The wazir halted there for a few days to organise his troops, and to reward those who had distinguished themselves in the last action. To mehta Basti Ram he gave Rs. 500 and a pair of gold bangles, and to thirty two others of his party he gave similar presents of less value, to some Rs. 100, to some Rs. 50, and to others Rs. 40 according to their deserts. This decisive battle of Thamo Khon was fought about the first of Phagun, 1896 corresponding to about 13th February, 1840.

In short, after his success in the battlefield of Thamokhon, Zorawar Singh entered Marol in triumph. But he continued pursuing the fugitives and reached Hamza-Gond where another action was fought. But the Balti resistance was feeble and was easily broken with the help of the people of Kharmang who had now transferred their loyalty to the Dogras.

Wazir Zorawar Singh halted at Kharmang where Raja Ali Sher of Khar-taksu waited upon him. Through his mediation Ahmad Khan, Raja of Tolti and the wazir of Parkuta tendered their submission. After four days march from Kharmang the wazir reached at Gol where the Ladakhi army which had advanced over Hanola through Chorbat and Khapulu, also joined him. The united force now moved towards the stronghold of Skardu. But Raja Ahmad Shah had blocked every road, and his wazir Yostrang Karim had stationed his contigents at every pass. Zorawar' success at Thamokhon and Kharmang, however, had caused dissension among the Balti Rajas. Daulat Ali Khan of Khapalu, and Raja Khurrum Khan of Kurrus won Zorawar's favour by playing treachery to Raja Ahmad Khan of Iskardu and his wazir, Yostrang Karim, divided the Balti force and went over to Zorawar, which forced Yostrang Karim to withdraw without a battle.

Consequently, the Dogra force reached Skardu without facing any more opposition. All the petty chiefs, as well as Doghoni-pa Bano, the wazir of the Raja of Skardu, were in attendance upon wazir Zorawar Singh who now invested the fort of Khar Poche, i.e., Skardu in which Raja Ahmad Shah had shut himself up.[75]

Skardu fort was known for its strength on account of its location on a lofty, unapproachable rock. Skardu itself is out in the plain, 7440 feet above the sea, just at the foot of one of the two isolated rocks ;

73. "The number of Baltis killed in this battle of Thamokhon was about one thousand" according to Hashmat Ullah. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 367.

74. Cunningham, A. *Ladak*, pp. 346-47.

75. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *op. cit* , p. 371.

this, rising to 1000 feet above, overhangs it. Formerly the palace of the Rajas of Skardu stood at the edge of the plateau, where the rock rises from it. The rock itself was the stronghold, the fort was built at the south east end of it, at a part very steep and difficult of access.[76] The fort had only two gates, one on the east side meant for daily traffic, the other on the west from which a covered path descended to the river and the spring for bringing water for the inmates. The usual road on the east was a narrow, zigzag sharp ascent and its whole length was in the range of the tower on the western Gate.[77] On the higher part of the rock was a smaller fort, in a position very difficult to reach from below.[78]

The Dogras set siege to this fort and blockaded all roads of access. But even after some fifteen days of blockade the besieged showed no weakness. The Dogras, therefore, decided to carry the fort by assault. One dark night they stole round from their position in front of the chief Fort to the south-western corner of the rock, and surprising the guards there posted, climbed the hill, and after a little fighting took the small fort near the summit. In the morning they began firing down, at an immense advantage, on the larger fort, and after two or three hours the Raja and his people took to flight and the place was conquered. All the garrison (except a few who escaped across the river) were either killed or taken ; the Raja himself became a prisoner.[79]

"This deed was boldly done of the Dogras", writers F. Drow, "It resembled somewhat, on a small scale, the capture of Quebec by the English. The strength of position was such that it should never have been taken except by blockade and starvation.[80]

By now the Rajas of Kartaksha, Tolti, Khapulu and Kurus had tendered their submission before the wazir and with the victory at Thamokhon and the occupation of Skardu the whole Baltistan had been practically conquered by Zorawar Singh. The Baltis were demoralised so that Haider Khan, Raja of Shigar, and the chiefs of Chorbat willingly acknowledged Dogra overlordship. Only Raja Ali Khan of Rondu and Jabbar Khan, Raja of Astor, failed to present themselves. It took the wazir a little more to settle affairs at Skardu before he could direct his attention towards the suppression of these chiefs. He put in confinement wazir Hussain of Gol, deposed Raja Ahmad Shah

76. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 361-62.
77. Hashmat Ullah, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 372.
78. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 362.
79. Ibid. Hashmat Ullah, however, writes that Wazir Zorawar Singh made use of Raja Ali Sher Khan and Sayyid Madain Shah in persuading Raja Ahmad Shah to tender his submission to the Wazir personality on assurance of safe conduct. But when Ahmad Shah came in the presence of the Wazir, he was at once imprisoned, and the fort occupied without a shot. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 372.
80. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 362.

of Skardu and installed his son Muhammad Shah as the king of Baltistan[81] in the beginning of May, 1840.[82]

The fort and palace of Ahmad Shah was completely razed to the ground. According to their custom the Dogras built a new fort, "less dependent for its security on advantages of position."[83] Kahlon Rahim Khan of Chigtan was tortured to death for exciting rebellion in Purig. Hussain Khan, chief of Puskyum was also tortured by mutilation but he survived the punishment.

Ahmad Shah was shortly afterwards deposed, and his eldest son Muhammad Shah was installed in his room on the promised payment of an annual tribute of Rs. 7000. A small garrison of trustworthy soldiers was placed in the new fort on the bank of the Indus, to confirm the faithfulness of the new king, and Ahmad Shah and his favourite sons were carried off as prisoners to Ladakh."[84]

Meanwhile the Wazir had sent about 1000 Dogras in the command of Mirza Rasul Beg and Muhammad Khan and another Balti army under Dogra officers and chiefs of Kharmang, for ravaging the Rondu territory. It was taken without opposition and the territory was re-affirmed on Raja Ali Khan on payment of an indemnity worth Rs. 15,000.[85] Zorawar Singh sent his commander Madin Shah against Astor. Madin Shah occupied Astor, and led its ruler Jabbar to the presence of the Wazir who kept him a close prisoner near him. But as the Sikh Governor of Kashmir proffered a prior claim on Astor, Jabbar Khan was released and allowed to possess Astor, and the Wazir had to admit a political defeat.

Wazir Zorawar Singh had attained the occupation and submission of all the valleys and heights of Baltistan by the summer of 1840. He had secured Skardo, assured its occupation by raising a new fort and garrisoning it with a Dogra unit. At Khardrung also he founded a strong fort, a part of which he completed during his stay there. He appointed Bhagwan Singh '*thandar*' of the place at the head of a Dogra picket of 100 soldiers. Bhupat and Mukhtar Munshi were appointed to assist him. After completing these arrangements Wazir left for Ladakh.

The old Gyalpo, already broken in health and spirits on account of adversity and hard journey, died of smallpox which had broken out in

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81. *Akhbar-i-Ludhiana*, 2 May, 1840 ; *Aina-i-Sikandary*, Delhi, May 25, 1840 National Arch. of India, New Delhi.

82. "The transfer of the government of Iskardo to Muhamad Shah, the Gyalno's exiled son" was reported by G.R. Clerk to T.H Maddock on May 9, 1840. See *Press Lists*, 149/13.

83. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, 363.

84. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Vol. II, p. 265.

85. Hashmat Ullah, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 373.

the camp. His dead body was carried to Leh and his last rites were performed at his palace in Stog with all the royal honours.

The Wazir reached Leh, probably towards the end of June 1840 through Khapulu, Chorbat and Nubra. Immediately on his arrival there he sent for the surviving successor of the Gyalpo a boy of about 10 years named Jigsmad Namgyal, seated him on his grand-father's throne and recognised him as the nominal ruler of Ladakh, as vassal of the Dogra Raja Gulab Singh. Thus was completed the conquest and reconquest over a period of about 6 years, during which territory larger in extent than the Kashmir Valley was added to the Dogra dominion. If the jealousy of the Sikh Governor of Kashmir had not stood in his way, he could have pushed his conquest far into the Gilgit territory. But barred in that direction his martial genius led him to undertake the conquest of Lhasa territory which had fascinated him for some time past.

C. The Conquest of Nari or Western Tibet.

With the conquest of Ladakh and Baltistan the Dogra principality of Jammu became conterminous with the Central Asian and Chinese empires. It uncovered new political horizons to the Sikh state of Lahore which was probing around for further expansion through Gulab Singh's efforts. As soon as affairs in these newly conquered regions became finally settled and the Baltis and Ladakhis apparently seemed reconciled to the Dogra rule, Zorawar Singh Dogra commenced interfering in the affairs of the territories to the north and east of Ladakh. He first threw his covetous eyes on Yarkand, the government of which place had seized stock of "Punjab opium" worth lakhs of rupees, Zorawar, therefore, called upon the Chinese government of Yarkand to acknowledge the supermacy of the Sikh government.[86] But soon he realised that that territory held out only meagre prospects of Central Asian trade in return for hazarduous trans-Hamalayan and Central Asian expeditions across some of the world's highest passes. He therefore gave up the idea of conquering the legendry regions of Yarkand and Khutan, and concentrated all his efforts on the Tibetan territories to the north-east of Ladakh.

Several causes have been assigned to this orientation in Gulab Singh's policy of conquests. A.H. Francke was of the opinion that the main reason for Zorawar's new plan of Tibetan conquest was to give employment to his master's many new subjects in Ladakh and Baltistan, and in this way to keep their thoughts from revolutionary ideas.[87]

It is also alleged that the plunder of the monasteries, which were known to possess vessels and instruments of gold and silver, and the charm of Shawl wool, induced Zorawar to divert his arms to that direction and that he was sure the plunder of the first would enrich

86. *Sec. Consult., For. Deptt.*, No. 91 of 25-1-1841.

87. Francke, A.H., *A History of the Western Tibet*, 161.

himself and his men, and the acquisition of the latter would be highly pleasing to his master.[88]

But the driving force behind this hazarduous military activity seems to be stronger and more serious one. The British advance to the cis-Satluj territories upto the waters of that river in 1809, and the establishment of their protectorate on the Amirs of Sind in the guise of commercial treaties in 1831, had isolated Lahore Kingdom and cut it off from the rest of India. The treaty of Sagauli of March 1816, had already placed a British wedge between the Hindu power of Nepal and Lahore Kingdom by the occupation of Kumaon—Garhwal and Simla Hill States by the British Indian Government in anticipation of any future alignment between these two States. After the Sind affair Ranjit's bitter realisation of isolation mounted, and his Dogra Chiefs would have advocated a severence of friendly relations with the British and pursuance of an independent policy in dealing with the neighbouring states in total disregard of British interests, had Ranjit's failing health as well as British intrigues with the courtiers of Lahore Darbar not prevented any such move.

Breaking through this British encirclement of Lahore kingdom, had become a grave concern for Ranjit Srngh. After his death, when the noose of British encirclement of the Punjab became painfully tight, the authorities of Lahore badly needed some relief in some direction for a fresh draught of breath. A comparatively easy loop existed towards the west, in the fronters of Kabul. But the British had already anticipated the Sikhs in that direction and forestalled them by moving their armies in that direction on dint of the mandate they had received from the Tripartite Treaty of 1838. Consequently, the only field left for them for further expansion of Lahore frontier and for breaking through isolation was towards the north and east of Ladakh. The only course left for the rulers of Lahore for self defence from British expansionism, was to extend the hand of friendship towards Nepal by conquering the intervening territory of Western Tibet over which the Dogras could assert claim as being part of once extensive Ladakhi kingdom. The Sikhs no doubt tried to march with the Nepalese behind the Himalayas.[89]

More important cause than this was perhaps the Dogra diplamacy which has inevitably to be taken into account in any study of Lahore politics. It was the studied policy of Raja Gulab Singh and Raja Kalan, Raja Dhian Singh Dogra as vassals and Prime Minister of Lahore State respectively, to advocate and see a strong Sikh Government at Lahore pursuing its own foreign policy and free from external interference. They were particularly antagonistic to the overbearing British manner of dealing with the Sikh rulers, and did not see eye to eye with their overlord Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who followed a policy of "yielding, yielding and yielding" before the British pressure. The dread in which he (Ranjit Singh) stands of our power, "wrote Secretary

88. Cunningham, Sir A., *Ladak*. p. 391.
89. Bajpai, S.C., *The Northern Frontier of India*, Bombay, 1970, p. 43.

to the Government of India in 1836," may be accepted as a sure pledge that he will never suffer himself to oppose the views and wishes of the Government.[90] Under Ranjit's successors the power of the king deteriorated and the external independence of Lahore Kingdom became only a literary fancy. The intrigues of the court factions further weakened the state and lowered its prestige contrary to the wishes of the Dogra Rajas. Dhian Singh Dogra, however, kept up the prestige of the Sikh throne till he lived, and counteracted all British plans on the Punjab. Like all far sighted diplomats of the Panjab, Raja Gulab Singh and his brother realised that the real danger to Punjab lay in the south of it in the British intrigues which were incessant with Lahore courtiers and the neighbouring powers. Since the closing years of Ranjits Singh's reign, Lahore State had become a cook-pit of the British and Dogra diplomacies. The Dogra Rajas had thus become natural enemies of the British interests in the Sikh State whom the latter used to treat as subordinate ally.

The hatred of the Dogras towards the British was well known. The late Raja Dhian Singh "Ranjeets's Prime Minister and chief conductor of all the negotiations with the British Government,"[91] had no particular liking for the British.[92]

Raja Gulab Singh was even greater hater of the British power in India and was always so reasonably averse to a close connection with the British.[93] In this reference J.D. Cunningham makes the following meaningful observation on Anglo-Dogra relations ;

"Neither the Minister (Raja Dhian Singh) nor his brother had ever been thought well pleased with English interference in the affairs of the Punjab ; they were at the time in suspicious communication with Nepal; and they were held to be bound to Sultan Muhammad Khan, whose real or presumed intriguess with the enemies of Shah Shuja had occasioned his removal to Lahore a year previously.[94]

The British were also in constant dread of the growing power and influence of Raja Gulab Singh Dogra. In great constrenation they always tried to forestall him in his ambition, and opposed any aggrandisement in his power and new additions to his charges. Maharaja Sher Singh wanted to bestow the Afghan province on the restorer of order in Kashmir. But this arrangement would have placed the hills from the neighbourhood of Kangra to the Khaibar Pass in the hands of

90 Ganda Singh, *Anglo-Sikh, wars*, p. 35.

91. Steinbach. Lt. Col., *The Punjab*, p. 57.

92. M. Gregar, W.L., *The History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, p. 286.

93. *Cunningham's Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 256.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 221. For this presumed understanding between the Jammu Rajas and the Barakzais of Peshwar, Mr. Clerk's letter of 8th October, 1840, may be referred to among others.

men averse to the English and hostile to Shah Shuja.[95] The British Government lodged a strong protest in the affair with Lahore Darbar" to make it known to the Darbar that the British Government could not view with indifference or satisfication, any attempt on the part of Jammu family to add Peshawar to the many extensive provinces under their control,[96] and informed them that the British Government will not countenance the appointment of the Raja to the Government of Peshawar.[97] In the autum of 1841, therefore, the veto of the English Agent was put upon Raja Gulab Singh's nomination to Peshawar.[98] This Dogra-British rivalry in the politics of the Punjab and the British attempts to thwart Dogra ambitions for expansion of territory and influence toward Kashmir Valley and Peshawar, compelled the Dogra Rajas to carry on secret intrigues with Nepal and Kabul. Gulab Singh also found it convenient to look towards Himalayan territories where the British had neither sway nor any influence. He was driven towards Ladakh and Baltistan on these considerations. He aspired for the conquest of Western Tibet on similar grounds.

There was yet another cause which drove Gulab Singh recklessly towards east of Ladakh in order to touch the Nepalese border as early as possible. The party politics at Lahore was taking a dangerous turn. Several courtiers were playing in the hauds of the British agents. There was a concerted intrigue going on for weakening Dogra hold on the administration of the Lahore Kingdom and to do away with their influence. An attempt was being made by Maharaja Sher Singh, at the instigation of his adviser, Bhai Gurmakh Singh, to reduce the authority in the conduct of affairs," which has so long been beneficially exercised by the Jammu Raja, Dhian Singh,[99] a move in which several influential courtiers like Lehna Singh Majithia, Jemadar Khushal Singh, Bhais Govind Ram and Ram Singh, Diwan Sawan Mal, General Ventura and others were arrayed against the Dogras. Thus "the minister who had gained such credit for his wisdom and forethought during the lifetime of the great Ranjeet, had been sacrified to party feelings.[100] The Sikh Army was also getting out of control and a communal hatred was being generated in the ranks against the Dogra Rajas. To crown all, the Khalsa Maharaja and some of his courtiers were intriguing with the British authorities, the very anti-thesis of what Dogras stood for, a total abnegation of British interference in the affairs of Lahore Kingdom a necessary condition for the perpetuation and independence of Sikh Raj. Raja Gulab Singh sagaciously realised that the days of the supermacy and influence of the Dogra Chiefs were drawing to a close due to narrow interests of Lahore. He found it necessary to counteract this by

95. *Ibid.*, Also Govt. to Mr. Clerk. 2nd Aug. and Mr. Clerk to Govt., 20th August, 1841, NAI.
96. E.P. PRO-30/12, II (i) Maddock to Clerk.
97. *ORPS.* 152/36/106-14, oi 20-8-1841, Clerk to Maddock.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *ORPS.* 158/102 of 5-9-1843, Richmond to Thomason.
100. M' Gregor, W.L. *History of the Sikhs*, II, p. 36.

establishing a direct contact with Nepal by wading through Tibetan snows and high altitude battles.

The attempt to conquer Western Tibet was thus an act of the Dogra Raja Gulab Singh in pursuance of his objective of creating a hill kingdom for himself and counterbalancing British policy of encompassing the Sikh power of Lahore. With his piercing analytical pen Sir Henry Lawrence sums up Gulab Singh's objects in conquering the Himalayan territories in the following words :

"Secretly looking forward like all the provincial Governors of the Sikh territories, to the certain and not distant day when the Sikh empire must fall to pieces, his constant endeavour was how, upon the nucleus and foundations of the Jammoo Chiefship, to build up for himself a hill sovereignty both on the southern and northern slopes of the Himalaya. In the prosecution of this policy, while appearing fully occupied with Sikh affairs in the Punjab plains he had during 1840 and 1841 annexed Iskardo, made Gilgit tributary. opened squabbles with Yarkand, seized Garoo, in Chinese Tibet (thus monpolising the trade in shawl-wool), and made the frontier of Jammoo conterminous with that of the Goorkhas in Nepal, no great friends of the British Empire in India."[101]

Apart from diplomatic and commercial interests, the territories of Western Tibet offered to the Dogras another plea for conquest, which served as immediate cause for moving armed forces into the Tibetan region. Upto the reign of Singge Namgyal in Ladakh the region of Western Tibet formed a part of the Ladakhi Kingdom. As a result of Ladakhi Tibetan war of 1684 A.D. Singge Namgyal had to cede these territories, from the borders of present Ladakh upto the Mar Yum Pass, to Lhasa. Wazir Zorawar Singh could, therefore, assert Ladakhi claims on these Tibetan provinces which lie to the east and southeast of Ladakh, and are known as Rudok, Chang-thang and Nari. In 1841 the time seemed opportune for Gulab Singh to materialise his ambition of conquering the provinces of Western Tibet. The Sikh kingdom of Lahore had been shaken by internal dissensions after Ranjit Singh's death in June 1839. The British were pre-occupied in saving their face in Afghanistan and Burma where troubles were brewing up. The Chinese were absorbed in their attempt to vomit out British opium which the traders of East India Company sought to force down the Chinese gullet. Similarly Nepal, once a power to reckon with was weakened by factional struggle. "In Tibet itself, there was considerable turmoil arising from a power struggle between the Regent of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan ministers [102]

Gulab Singh's Military commander in Ladakh, Wazir Zorawar Singh soon found out a pretext for mobilisation on territories of Western Tibet to the west of Mayum Pass, called Nari. He was told

101. Edwards, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, p. 225.

102. Fisher, Huttenback, etc. *Himalayan Battlegrouud*, p. 4.

that in the best times the West Tibetan empire of Ladakh comprised a province in Western Tibet prior to 1684. In that year Ladakhi lost these territories to Lhasa in a battle fought in the reign of Deleg Namgyal (1675-1705 A.D.)[103] Therefore, the Dogras as the present masters of Western Tibet (Ladakh and Baltistan), revived the claims to those outlying districts.[104] Wazir Zorawar Singh wrote to the governor (Garphon) of these districts not to supply Pashmeena Shawl-wool to any other area except Ladakh, and also demanded tribute from him.[105] But the Garphon sent only five horses and five mules.[106] The Dogra General was offended at this, and he ordered his forces to move into Nari to occupy it for Raja Gulab Singh.

Soon the news of this move flashed around, although the contemplated attack on Western Tibet had been attended with much secrecy as was done earlier in the case of Ladakh. Mr. G.R. Clerk, the Governor General's Agent to the North-Western frontier received the first vague intelligence of a collision having occured between the troops of Zorawar Singh and the militia of Bashahr at somc place near the frontier of Ladakh. Mr Clerk also remarked on the designs of Wazir Zorawar Singh on Kanwar and Ruthok (Rudok).[107] A month after this, in the middle of July, the Commissioner of the British District of Kumaon, received a report from the Rawal of the Badrinath temple about the capture of Gartok by a Sikh (Dogra) force and the defeat of the Tibetan authorities who had endeavoured to oppose their further progress.[108] The British Resident at Kathmandu also confirmed a similar intelligence received by the Raja of Nepal.[109] The Commissioner of Kumaon was further informed that the Sikhs (i.e. Dogras) were conducting operations against Gartok in conjunction with the Ladakhis.[110]

By the middle of June 1841 Zorawar was reported to have moved his troops into the outposts of Western Tibet. His army of invasion has been estimated by A.H. Francke at 6000-7000. Of Ladakhis the greater part had to do transport work, and each peasant was carrying 240 pounds on horses, Yaks, donkeys or on his own back.[111] But the cambatants did not exceed 5000.[112] Only 2000 of these werc Dogras from Jammu and Kishtwar and the remaining were from Ladakh and

103. Bajpai, S.C, *The Northern Frontier of India*, 1970, pp. 13-14 ; L. Petech, "the Tibetan-Ladakhi Moghul War of India, 1681-83," in *Ind. Hist. Quart* ; xxiii, Sept. 1947, pp. 169-99.
104. Francke, A.H., *A Htst. of the Western Tibet*. p 161.
105. *Sec. Prodge.*, Juue 21, 1841, No. 15 (N.A.).
106. *Ibid.*
107. *ORPS*, VII, 151/67, No. of 15.6.1841, G.R Clerk to T.H. Maddock.
108. *ORPS*, VII, 54/17 of 15-7-1841.
109. *ORPS*, VII, 54/30 of 31-7-1841, B.H. Hodgson to G.R. Clerk.
110. *ORPS*, VII, 128/125, pp. 246-48.
111. Francke, A.H. A Hist. of Western Tibet, p. 162.
112. *Cunningham*, Sir A. *Ladak*, p. 351.

Baltistan.[113] The number may even had been less.[114] Most of the Dogra soldiers carried matchlocks, shields and swords. They had about a dozen small guns, probably jinglas,[115] of which some eight or nine were later on mounted on the ramparts of Chit'ang fort. These were probably carried by men. As the advance into Western Tibetan plateau was begun at the commencement of Indian summer the soldiers of Zorawar wore light clothes to which they were used to in their Ladakhi expeditions.

It seems that Zorawar had gathered full information about the military strength of Tibetans at various outposts and also about the situation and disposition of important military concentrations in Nari, which he planned to conquer simultaneously and surprisingly.

He had probably anticipated all the hurdles to be encountered in a conquering march over a cold plateau about 15,000 feet above sea level, covering a distance of about 450 miles to the farthest point he wanted to reach to the immediate west of the Mayum Pass. According to survey of the Chinese officials the distance between the Mayum Pass and Central Tibet (i.e. Lhasa is more than 3,000 li, and from Mayum Pass to Ladakh is 1,700 li.[116] The most frequented trade route between Leh and Mayum Pass, which ran through the middle of Nari division claimed by the Dogras, passed from Leh to Chibra and lay up the Valley of the Indus and generally along the bank of the river upto Garo (Gartok). The distance from Leh to Garo is not less than 350 miles,[117] or about 35 days' journey. From Garo the road descended to the Manasarovra lake, a distance of 110 miles, or ten days' journey over several lofty spurs of the Kailas range and around the lake of Rawan Hrad.

In order to encompass the territory intended to be conquered and occupied Zorawar Singh decided to march the main body of the Dogra force on Nari from its north-western fringe into the lake district of Rudok (Ruthog) along the south bank of the Pang Kong lake. With a view to comb simultaneously the territories adjoining Ladakhi and Indian frontiers, he planned to thrust two more spearhead columns which traversing and occupying chief places, should effect a junction with his main force at Gartok where they expected a strong resistance from the Tibetans, and thence to march on Tirathpuri and the lake

113. *Sec. Consult.* Nos. 36-38 of 1-11-841.

114. 4,000 according to the authors of *Himalayan Battleground*, p. 50 ; "Over 3 000 Ladakhi barbarians and Shen-pa aborignes" according to the Chinese General Pi-hsi (Meng-pao's Hsi-Tsang Tsou-Shu).

The force which Zorawar mustered for the final battle of To-yo was estimated by the Chinese at about 3,000 men, with 600 in reserve and additional 500 in the Chi-t'-ang fort under Basti Ram. Some 500 more may have been posted at five or six military posts, in fifties or hundreds to safeguard the route of advance from Rudok to Taklakot.

115. *Sec. Consult.* No. 23 of 22-11-1841, Cunningham to Clerk. 21 October, 1841.

116. Meng-Pao's Hsi-Tsang Tsou-Shu,' in *Himalayan Battleground*, p. 158.

117. Cunningham, Sir. A. *Ladak*, pp. 158-59.

district of Purang where the main Tibetan force could be expected to give them the decisive battle.

Before leaving on the conquest of Tibet Zorawar Singh secured his rear and made it sure that Ladakh and Baltistan remained peaceful and loyal. For this purpose, and perhaps in order to test the fealty of his new subjects and their chiefs, Zorawar not only sent their leaders at the head of conquering columns, but also mobilised the armed Balti and Ladakhi population to accompany Dogra armies as auxiliary columns. Thus the Ladakhi Chief Nono-bsodnams (Nono-Sodnam) the minister of Bazgo, Ghulam Khan, the deposed chief of Baltistan; Mgon-po, the Steward of the famous Hemis monastery; and the minister Sa-bi, "and all other great councillors and soldiers went to make war against m-Nah-ris" (Nari)[118] as equal partners of the Dogras. The Hemis monastery alone contributed 12,000 bushels of grain, 300 horse load and 70 horses. The Ladakhis and Baltis seem probably as much excited as their Dogra co-partners on the expected conquest of the territories which were formerly a part of their kingdom.

The expedition was planned during April, 1841 and the movement of troops towards the borders of Nari started by the month of May, 1841. Wazir Zorawar Singh had conceived his expedition on a bold design and seemed to organise it in such a manner as to fulfil the task well before the close of campaigning season. Accordingly, his thrust into the Nari territories was three pronged. In addition to his own main force, two smaller columns of about 300 to 500 men each, marched from south-eastern corner of Ladakh through Rupsu, one under Ghulam Khan, the former ruler of Skardu (Baltistan) and the other under Nono-Sodnam, the brother of the former Ladakhi King who was placed on the *gaddi* by Zorawar Singh in 1836. Both these columns moved and entered Tibetan territory before Zorawar Singh advanced with the main force. The Balti Chief, Ghulam Khan, was the first to lead his 300 men along the borders of Kulu and Kumaon. Swayed by religious zeal, he visited with destruction all the chief places known for Buddhist Gonpas. The first victim of his plundering and iconoclastic zeal was Hanle in Ladakh itself. Then he stormed the Tibetan military posts of Churit, Chumurti, Tsaparang and Daba along the borders of Kulu and Bashahr. He was quite successful in his "congenial occupation of plundering the monasteries and temples, the work he executed with iconoclastic fury. The gold and the silver were reserved for his master; but the plastic images of clay, the books and the pictures excited the religious bigotary of the Musalman, and were indiscriminately destroyed."[119] He then turned east from Daba, over ran the district headquarters of Tholing adjoined the main force under Zorawar Singh at Garo (Gartok). He met some resistance at Tsaparang and Tholing; but the Tibetans were easily defeated and their leaders were slain.

118. Francke, A.H. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, p. 133.

119. Cunningham, Sir A. *Ladak*, p. 352.

The Ladakhi chief marched along the Indus river and conquered and plundered the famous Tashigong monastery town and other surrounding places.

Wazir Zorawar Singh himself led the main force of about 3,000 Dogra soldiers, and advanced along the road south of Pang Kong lake in May. From Chushul he entered the Tibetan District of Rudok (Ruthog) and conquered the place on June 5, 1841, and took the Garphon prisoner.

He then moved south where he joined forces with the first two divisions under Nono-Sodnam and Ghuiam Khan, and captured Gartok, district headquarters for West Tibet on the old caravan route between Leh and Lhasa. The place had already been evacuated by the Tibetans and hence was easily conquered.[120] The whole force now took a south-easterly direction along the ancient caravan route between Ladakh and Lhasa. At a place named Dagpacha, near Misra, a regular dak post on the Gartok-Lhasa route, about one day's march from the famous lakes Manasarowar and Rakastel,[121] the Governor of Gartok had collected about 1200 men from the locality and a few hundred Jukpas tribesmen,[122] to resist the Dogra advance. But the Tibeatans could not stem the tide of Dogra invasion by local resistance. In an action fought on 7th August, some casualities were suffered by both sides, and Tibetans fled towards Taklakot a place about fifteen miles from the border of Nepal. Wazir Zorawar Singh advanced on his march of conquest for Taklakot, thereby to occupy the entire region upto the Mayum Pass.

The advance of Dogra and Ladakhi forces into Nari and occupation by them of important military posts of Daba, Tsaparang, Gartok, Kardung, Taklakot, was not an easy run-over but was acquired after meeting and overcoming considerable resistance.

The Chinese account of the Dogra Tibetan war of 1841 reveals the promptitude with which the Chinese and Tibetan authorities reacted to Dogra conquest and the stubborn resistance offered by them.

Hsi-Tsang Tso-Shu (Tibetan Memorials and Reports'), an official compilation by Meng-Pao, the Chinese Imperial Resident at Lhasa (1839-1844 A.D.), deals in detail with this affair. Meng-Pao reports to the Emperor of China that as the Chief of Ladakh, in league with the Shenpa (Singh people, i.e., Dogra) had occupied certain areas of Tibet, Tibetan officers had to be sent with troops to deal with the situation In the 4th month of Chinese calendar (May 21 June 19) the military post official at Gartok reported that he received a message from Shen-pa leader that their combined force numbering over 400

120. *Sec. Cons. For Dept.*, No. 46 of 27-9-1841, Lushington to Thomason.

121. *Sec. Cons. For Dept.*, No 18 of 13-9-1841.

122. Jukpas or Chukpas was a tribe of robbers which infested Western Tibet at that time.

men, was advancing towards the Tibetan border on a pilgrimage to the Hsueh Shah (Mount Kailash). The official feared lest some incident might occur, and he therefore requested that the Officer-in-charge of Frontier be sent to look into the situation. Consequently, Jaipon (General) Pi-hsi of Central Tibet was immediately ordered to hurry there aod take steps to prevent the entry of "this aboriginal force." The General departed, arranged affairs there and reported back, and his report was received by the Imperial Resident at Lhasa on 15 August, 1841. The General learnt that "over 3,000 Ladakhi barbarians and Shen-pa aborigines" had already assembled at Gattok before his arrival there. In "ten days they had occupied the two Tibetan posts of Rudok and Gartok. The general added that "The invaders intend to conquer all the territory up to the Mayum Pass and force the people there to dress in their fashion and lend them assistance. As things are they will soon reach the Tibetan post at Puiren (Purang Taklakot). The situation has become very serious."[123]

The Tibetan mobilisation was prompt and adequate. General Pi-hsi gathered together 500 local troops and encamped at Kardung, and demanded immediate reinforcements. One thousand Tibetans "all skilled soldiers with bows and arrows or fowling pieces" from Central Tibet and one thousand additional local troops from Lhasa were sent. These Troops left on 29 August, and hurried off to different strategic points to prevent any further encroachment. They were ordered to co-operate with General Pi-hsi.

But before the arrival of reinforcements, General Pi-hsi had worked up local resources, and on his arrival at Takalakot, he could muster a force of 1,000 local troops, which was divided and stationed as guards at different posts, one at Taklakot, to stop the Dogras.

Gartok seems to have fallen to Zorawar in the first week of July, after about a month of the occupation of Rudok. Here the Tibetans offered some opposition. At Gartok the two columns under Ghulam Khan and Nono-Sodnum also joined Zorawar and now the combined force marched along the old trade route towards Tirathpuri. At Dog Pacha, near Tirathpuri another Tibetan force opposed the Dogra advance, but was beaten and both the posts were occupied by Dogras on 7th August.

General Pi-hsi was waiting for the arrival of the Dogras at Kardung where he organised a stiff resistance to the invaders in combination with the Gonpo of Gartok who had fled to Taklakot after his defeat. The opposition, however, broke down. "The fight took place against great odds," reported the Tibetan general, "and both sides sustained some casualties. Because of the cowardice of the local troops, our forces had to withdraw to the foot of Tsa-Mountain near the Mayum Pass."[124]

123. Men-Pao's Hsi-Tsang Tsou-Shu, 'in *Himalayan Battle gronnd*, p. 157.
124. Meng-Pao's *Hsi-Tsang-Tsou-Shu*, p. 159,

After the withdrawal of the Tibetan General to the other side of the Mayum Pass, a Dogra force under Basti Ram was sent to occupy Dagla Kar or Taklakhar (Taklakot) in Purang, the fort of which place the Dogras had newly built, was held by Dogra contingents and the route of communications with Leh was made secure. Thus the occupation of Tlbet west of Mayum Pass was complete by the middle of September. After making proper arrangements for guarding advance posts towards Mayum Pass, Wazir Zorawar Singh returned to Tirathpuri where he planned to winter. Thus had Dogras conquered 1700 li or about 300 miles of Tibetan territory in about three months and a half.

The first thing Wazir Zorawar Singh did after the conquest of Misra was to take a holy bath in the Lake Manasarovara and offer a golden idol at the Kailash temple.[125] On the eve of mobilising his troops into Tibet, he had already announced his intention to perform a pilgrimage of the holy place of Manasarovara and the Kailash of the Hindu mythology, a resolve which he now proudly fulfilled.

Thus by fighting out his way to these holy places and earning the merit of pilgrimage of the Mount Kailas to which the heroes of the Mahabharata had earlier retired after attaining the glory and fame in the battlefield of Kurukshetra, Wazir Zorawar Singh had earned both sanctity and renown. He had achieved the pinnacle of glory. His downfall was imminent. The Chinese dragon had been provoked, the line of communications precariously extended, and the freezing, hostile winter was about to lash out with all its armies of snow and avalanche.

Zorawar, however, had not come to the Lake districts only for a pilgrimage. He had lasting designs on the region and desired to integrate it permanently to the Dogra principality as he had done in the case of Ladakh. He took every step to give a settled administration to the conquered people and a security to his conquests. For this purpose he stationed his own Dogra pickets at every important post, constructed fortresses and garrisoned it by his own men. The strategic places like Rudok, Gartok, Tirathpuri, Taklakot, Churit and Chumurti were properly fortfied and garrisoned with Dogras. roads were repaired,[126] and arrangements set up to collect revenue according to the old practices. Local Tibetan officials were associated in administration and were required to pacify the populace.[127] He also issued a *hukamnama* to the people at large that they should pay him taxes which heretofore they had been paying to the Tibetan authorities.[128] Zorawar Singh took special measures to regulate shawl-wool trade, and also commerce in general. He ordered Tibetans to sell shawl-wool to the Ladakhis

125. *Sec. Consult, For Deptt.*, No. 18 of 13-9-1841, Battan to Lushington.

126. *Sec. Cons. For Dept.*, No. 40 of 20-12-1841, Cunningham to Clerk 8 November, 1841.

127. *Sec. Cons. For Dept.*, No. 57 of 6-12-1841, Lushington to Secretary, 10 November, 1841.

128. *Sec. Prodgs. For Dept.*, No. 50 of 11-10-1841.

only according to the old practice, which had, as a result of disturbances attendant on his conquest of Ladakh, been directed towards Bashahir and the adjoining British Indian territory. Those who sought to by pass his orders were severely dealth with. The Bhotia traders of the British territories of Kumaon and Garhwal, who traded with west Tibet or 'Undes', were also cessed as in the past.[129] The Bhotias had been alarmed at the Dogra conquest of Undes or Hnndes, the portion of Tibet adjoining Almora and Garhwal Districts, but the Wazir tried his best to allay their fears by providing necessary facilities for carrying on trade. With the same objects in view Wazir Zorawar Singh sent Colonel Basti Ram as his agent, to meet Mr. Lushington, the Commissioner of Kumaon. A meeting between the Diplomats took place at Kala Pani in Byans District of Kumaon, on 8th October, 1841. The Dogra dignitary told his British counterpart that Zorawar Singh was anxious to do everything to secure and place the commercial traffic of the Bhotias on its former footing.[130]

In a short span of three or four months Wazir Zorawar Singh had introduced in his newly conquered territory all the measures of administration and defence which he had tried successfully in Ladakh, directed towards the pacification of the populace and the permanent occupation of the Western Tibet. In spite of all the British apprehensions and protests he seems to be determined on the annexation of the West Tibetan provinces to Gulab Singh's dominion.

As soon as Wazir Zorawar Singh received information of the arrival of Kahlon Surkhang and other Tibetan military officers on the east side of Mayum Pass, he opened negotiations for peace, "promising to withdraw on condition of a money payment (tribute) from Tibet."[131] He also desired the Tibetans to recognise him as the ruler of Western Tibet,[132] and to indemnify the cost of various actions fought by him.[133] He also demanded that the Tibetans should send all shawl-wool to Ladakh as had been done in the past, otherwise he threatened to invade Lhasa.[134] His prompt offer of withdrawal in case his terms were accepted was perhaps expressive of his anxiety on the approaching winter. He had desired to withdraw to Ladakh for the winter in case Tibetan authorities agreed to pay a tribute as token of submission and allegiance to the Dogras. But the Tibetans seemed to be of the opinion that the Dogras were talking from the position of strength. "The

129. *Sec. Consult. For Dept.* No. 46 of 11-10-1841, Lushington to Thomason, 20 September 1841,

130. Lushington to Edwards, 9 Oct., 1841, *See. Consult. For Dept.*, No. 36.

131. Meng-Pao, 'Hist-Tsang Isou-Shu, '*Himalayan Battleground,* Appnd., p. 161.

132. *Sec. Cons. For Dept.*, No. 36 of 1-11-1841, Lushington to Ewards, 9 October, 1841.

133. *Sec. Cons. For Dept.* No. 42 of 6-7-1842, Cunningham to Clerk, 3 May, 1841.

134. *Sec. Cons. For Dept.* No. 36 of 1-11-1841.

invaders had first occupied our military post at Taklakot and then pretended to talk peace with us,"[135] and so their firm decision was that "Under no circumstances will indemnity be promised as that would deviate from all our fundamental rules."[136] This happened in the first week of November when the vanguard of Tibetan winter had appeared and a grim struggle between the Tibetan and Dogra forces on the world's loftiest snow-covered pluteau seemed unavoidable.

The conquest of the Tibetan territory was the result of Gulab Singh's search for a kingdom. His imperial proclivities could not find expression in any other quarter, as on all other sides his estates were surrounded by the possessions of his liege-lord, the ruler of Lahore. The effort of his general to conquer Astor and Gilgit were thwarted by the Sikh Governor of Kashmir by claiming that territory as tributary of Lahore Darbar. Kashmir had become a Sikh province since 1819. Even the expansion of Sikh kingdom itself had been made impossible by its encirclement by the British power towards Cis-Sutlej, Sind and Afghanistan sides, and no field had been left for Gulab Singh's youthful ambition of new conquests. Only the Tibetan border was open for pacification of his martial drive, Thus in less than six months he had conquered the Western Tibet upto the Mayum Pass on way to Lhasa, a tongue of territory 500 kilometres in length, and by the end of October, 1841 his possessions spread from Wazirabad and Jhelum to the northern border of Ladakh and from Skardu to the Mayum pass.

In the end of that year he probably possessed territory larger than that of his overlord, the ruler of Lahore. But the occupation of Tibetan territory proved a short-lived affair as Gulab Singh found no opportunity to organise and strengthen his hold on it. British interference in the affair discouraged him to make any long-range plans regarding conquest of Tibetan territories. In spite of the ultimate failure of his Tibetan policy, the conquest remains a monument of his forward policy in the trans-Himalayan Central Asian territories. There is no doubt that left alone he would have grasped Tashkand-Yarkand and the Kailash Manasarovar region.

135. Meng-Pao, 'Hsi-Tsang Tsou-Shu, 'in *Himalayan Battleground*, Appnd., p. 162.

136. *Ibid*., p. 161.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Dogra Debacle In Central Asia And Its Aftermath

(A) THE DOGRA DEFEAT

The Tibetans had become panicky at the news of Dogra invasion. The Lhasa authorities made frantic preparations to stop the Dogra onrush and to hurl them back. In addition to the force mobilised earlier by Pi-hsi and the Imperial Resident, they despatched another force comprising two Jupoas (5th rank officers), four Chiapons (6th rank officers), and twenty Tingapons (7th rank officers), together with 500 Tibetan soldiers from U and Tsang on the 31st of September. An additional force of 2,000 men was raised from U and Tsang. Provision was also made for nine months' supply for the troops[1].

As narrated earlier on 2 October Kahlon Surkhang had arrived at the head of a multitudinous force at Chu-hsu (Dokthal), a district in Tsang province east of Mayum Pass, surveyed the situation and sent a detailed report of Dogra wars and concluded that after a battle with General Pi-hsi "the invaders then withdrew a short distanca."[2] The Kahlon estimated the Dogra army at more than 3,000 strong occupying a military post at Taklakot. In each of the other four posts the Dogras were reported to have stationed 500 men and to have strongly fortified their position.[3]

Although winter had set in and the heavy fall of snow had blocked the passes, General Pi-hsi and Kahlon Surkhang were anxious to send re-inforcement across the mountains as Lhasa authorities "apprehended that a long delay might hamper an attack by allowing the Dogra invaders grow stronger."[4] They therefore sought to take action without furthur loss of time. They stationed some detachments at different strategic passes to hold the Dogras back, while other troops were sent to Rudok via another route along the Ma-tsang. They decided to take the Dogra position both from the front and the rear. causing thereby lowering down of their morale. The indemnity which the Dogra

1. Meng-Paos 'Hsi-tsang Tsou-shu,' in the *Himalyau Battleground*, p. 159.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

General had demanded from the Lhasa authorities was under no circumstances to be promised.[5] The Tibetans had thus resolved on driving the Dogras out of the Garo district.[6]

About the 7th of November,[7] Zorawar Singh first heard of the Tibetan force. He sent a column of 300 Ladakhis, under their leader Nono-Sodnam, to intercept the Tibetans, but the force was cut to pieces, only Nono and a few others escaping alive. A larger force was then deployed under him on 19 November which met the same fate, Nono and other Commanders being made prisoners. The Tlbetans then occupied all the strategic points at Kardung and Taklakot. The Tibetans also learnt that Dogras had constructed a strong fortification at a place called Chi-t'-ang, about 70 miles from Taklakot. On its walls were mounted two large and some 8 or 9 small cannons and it was strongly guarded by a force of over 500 men. From here they planned "not oaly to prevent Tibetan forces from advancing but they also intended to make gradual encorochments upon Lhasa territory".[9] The Tibetans decided to take advantage of the winter months to launch strong attacks against the Shen-pas (Dogra) at a time when their escape routes through the mountains would be closed by snow storms.[10] They, therefore, repeatedly attacked the fort from all sides.

On 25th November the Dogra Commander, marched from Tirathpuri with over 3,000 men and encamped at Kardung[11]. Probably he had decided to risk everything on a campaign to recapture Taklakot and led his army from Tirathpuri camp.[12]. He sent two columns, one after the other, to cut Tibetan water supply, bnt his efforts failed. On 3 December he divided his force into five columns and advanced against the Tibetan lines. But this plan also failed. Thirty Dogra soldiers were killed without any success[13]. Roused by repeated defeats the Wazir decided to rescue the Chi-t-ang fort where he wanted to join Colonel Basti Ram's force intending to occupy a place named To-yo, probably to cut Tibetan supply lines, or to get out of Tibetan encirclement. The Tibetans immediately sent their troops to occupy To-yo by night before the arrival of the Dogras.[14] The Lhasa Troops had, as per communications received from the Patwari of Biyans,

5. *ORPS*, 113/6, No. of 23-11-1841, Cunningham, on deputation to the Frontier of Tibet to G.R. Clerk, Agent, Govr. Genl., N.W.P.
6. Cunningham, Sir Alexander, *Ladak*, *op. cit*, p. 352.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Meng-Pao'Hsi-tsang Tsou-shu. 'in the *Himalayan Battle ground* op. cit. p. 164: France A.H., *A Hist. of Westeru Tibet*, p. 163 ; also Sec. Con. F.D., No. 75 of 7-2-1842.
9. Fisher, Rose, Hutfenback, *Himalyan Battleground, op. Cit.*, p. 164.
10. *Iaid.*
11. *Ibid*,
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, Mang-Pao's *Hssi-tsang Tsou-shu*, p. 164.
14. *ORPS*, 54/193 of 7-12 1841, Lushington to Secretary, Government.

surrounded Zorawar Singh and his force at Misra. Ths Kahlon also requested the Lhasa authorities to send reinforcements. Consequently, 1250 Tibetan Cavalry "famous for generations" arrived at the front on December 11, 1841, along with two big guns, in addition to some old and obsolete guns already sent.[15]

The Dogra General now realised his critical positton. The enemy numbered over 10,000 or almost three times the strength of his own troops.[16] No help could be expected from any quarter as all the roads had been blocked by snow. though he sent messengers to Leh and other places for reinforcements. As such the General's only hope lay either in effecting a junction with Basti Ram's troops at Taklakot, or in taking shelter in nearby British territory[17]. But all the roads of his escape had also been blocked by the Tibetan.[18] So on 10 December Wazir Zorawar Singh moved to a place near To-yo, where both the armies met in deadly conflict. The Dogra General led an attack which was resisted by the Tibetan General Pi-shi who killed sixty-two Dogras and captured one large cannon.[19] During the night there was a great snow-storm. and snow accumulated to the depth of several feet and the Dogras suffered severely and many with insufficient clothing died. Zorawar Singh dug in trenches and there was a three day combat.[20] The Tibetans probably failed to carry the assault and laid an ambush. A road was left open through the middle of their lines up which the Dogras could advance for To-yo.[21] The Dogras marched for To-yo from 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. on 12 December and fell into the ambush. Their rear-guard was cut off. They were attacked by Tibetans from all sides. The same day Zorawar received a bullet in his right shoulder and fell down from his horse. The Tibetans made a rush for him and he was killed.[22]

15. Mang Pao's Hsi tsang Tsou--shu' *Himalayau Battleground*, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-63.

16. Cunningham, Sir Alexander, *Ladak. op. cit.*, p. 352

17. *ORPS* ? 128/227, pp. 467-68, dated 10-12-1841, RNC, Hamilton, offg, Secretary to Government of N.W.F. to T.H. Maddock, Secretary of India.

18. See C,L. Dutta, *Ladakh and Western Himalayan Politics*, 1973, p. 139, refers to an item in the *Bengal Herald*, Calcutta, 8 January, 1842.

19. Fisher, Rose, Huttenback, *Himalayan Battleground*, p. 165.

20. Francke, A.H., *A Hist. of Western Tibet*, op. cit, p. 163.

21. The authors of *Himalyan Battleground* (26n and Apps. p. 165) give December 14, 1841 as the date of Zorawar's death which they have calculated by Meng-Pao's reports. S C. Bajpai, *The Northern Frontier of India*, p. 44 ; Sapru, *Gulab Singh*, p. 28, n3, also gives the same date J.D. Cunningham in his intelltgence reports sent to Clerk on 4 March, concurs with this dale. But Sir A. Cunningham, *Ladak*, p. 352. and A.H. Franke, *A. Hist. of Western Tibet*, p. 163, give December 12 as the date of this event. A letter of C. T. Lushington, Commissioner Kumaon, dated 13-12-1841 (BK BO 201, ORPS) Communicates the intelligence of the defeat of Wazir Zorawar Singh by the Tibetan force. This first report of the event supports the date of 12 December for the event.

22. Fisher, Rose, Huttenback, *Himalyan Bartleground*, op. cit., p. 165.

The Dogra troops were soon thrown into disorder and fled on all sides. About, 40 officers of his army and 200 of his soldiers also lost their lives. Their reserve of 600 men surrendered their arms.[23]. Two large cannons and six flags were captured by the Tibetans. along with numerous muskets, daggers, can-shields, and the like. The Ladakhi Chief of Zorawar[2]s army, Nono-Sodnam and others who had surrendered were all imprisoned in the fort of Taklakot.[24]. Out of the whole Dogra army, 6000 strong including camp followers, not more than 1,000 escaped alive and of them 700 were prisoners of war.[25] The rest despersed in confusion in all directions, pursued by the Tibetans. It was reported that a Total of 830 surrendered, Thirteen Dogra Chiefs, including Rai Singh, were captured and were sent to Lhasa under escort.[26]

Encouraged by the destruction of Dogra troops the Tibetans carefully planned an attack on the remaining four military posts still in the hands of Dogras. They promptly followed their success at To-yo in order not to permit Dogras "a breathing spell in which they could prepare another attack[27] and at once surrounded the Dogra fort at Chi-t'ang, They received fresh reinforcements and stormed the fort, probably on 2 or 3 January, 1842. More than 300 Dogras were killed and still more fell victim to frost and snow while escaping. Colonel Basti Ram, the Commander of Chi-t'ang fort and about 240 of his companions succeeded in escaping into the British territory at Askot on 9 January, probably through the Lepu-Lekhpass. They were then conveyed to Almora where they were given all possible help. Afterwards, Basti Ram and 127 of his companions were permitted to leave for Ludhiana, on way to Jammu, in July 1842.

After recapturing Taklakot and Chi-t'ang the Tibetan troops proceeded to Gartok which was occupied by Kahlon Surkhang. They three posts of Daba, Tsaparang, and Rudok were placed under the command of Pi-hsi. All the Tibetan troops were despatched to various places to search out and attack the Dogras who had established posts all along the route through which they had come.[28] By the end of march the Tibetans and recaptured all the forts and military posts and the last of the invaders had been driven out of Tibet.[29] Thus the the Dogra invasion of Tibet proved futile. Zorawar's endeavours to make Gulab Singh a Central Asian power ended in disaster. The Sikh power of Lahore could not march with Nepal behind the Himalaya.

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23. Cunningham ,Sir A., *Ladhkh*, op. cit., p. 352.
24. Fisher, Rose, Huttemback, *Himalyan Batllegroued*, p. 165.
25. Cunningham, Sir *A.*, *Ladak*, op. cit., p. 353.
26. Fisher Rose. Huttenback, *op. cit*, p. 167.
27. *Ibid.* p. 166.
28. Meng-Pao's Hsi-tsang Tsou-snu '*Himalyan Battleground*, op. cit., p. 168,
29. Fisher, Rose, Huttenback, *Himalayan Battleground, op. cit.* p. 53.

The one great cause of the Dogra defeat was the extreme cold and deep snow. "The Indian soldiers of Zorawar Singh," writes Sir, A. Cunningham "fought under very great disadvantages. The battle-field was upwards of 15,000 feet above the sea, and the time mid-winter, when even the day temperature never rises above the freezing point."[30] The Dogra soldiers had inadequate clothing and had been exposed for several nights to the bitterness of the climate. Many had lost the use of their fingers and toes, and all were more or less frost-bitten. Consequently "On the last day not one-half of the men could handle their arms.[31]

The breakdown of Zorawar's commissariat arrangements also adversely effected his war potential. The barren and sparsely populated plains of Western Tibet could not sustain even a few thousands Dogra sepoys. When winter blocked all the passes, the invaders found it difficult to procure adequate supplies from the country around, or from Ladakh. "While facing starvation in the chilly climate of the land of snows, it was hardly possible to fight with a large army which was well-supplied with provisions and was better-equipped."[32]

Another cause seems to be that many of the Baltis and Ladakhis and the local Hunias deserted the Dogras and joined the Tibetan arms. This must have undermined Zorawar's efficiency at the eleventh hour. The diplomatic treachery can aiso not be ruled out as a potent cause of the Dogra debacle. The British pressure for the evacuation of Dogra conquests, and British talk of mediation seem to have put Zorawar Singh off his guard. On the eve of Tibetan ndvance on Taklakot he had aetually recalled his advance posts,[33] stationed to block all passes and by-passes through which Tibetan armies could cross down to the Manasarovara Lake plains. In the absence of advance posts Zorawar Singh received no timely information of the massing of Tibetan troops on the west of Mayum Pass. When he received the news it was too late. The Tibetans had already occupied Kardum and the area between Tirathpuri and Taklakot thereby severing all communications between Zorawar Singh and Colonal Basti Ram and other Dogra officers stationed to ihe south and east of Manasarovara Lake. The defeat of the Dogras under such circumstances was not something unexpected, though much shocking, as it came about when British Politicals were contemplating Zorawar's withdrawal by the Maharaja of Lahore and the Dogra British rivalry in the Punjab politics was about to take a serious turn.

30. Cunningham, Sir A., *Ladak, op. cit.*, p. 354.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Dutta, C,I., *Ladak and Western Himalayen Politics*, 1873, p. 143.

33. .....that in ihe mean time, orders were received by the Vuzeer from Raja Dhian Singh desiring him to return to Ladak, that the Vuzeer had in consequence recalled his officers and troops in advance, who joined him on the other side of Lasso .. .."*Punjab Akhbars*, No. 614, dated 22nd November, 1841 (Maghar of Aghan 1898), N.A.I. (New Delhi).

Dogra Conquests Lost

Gulab Singh's defeat and disaster in Tibet had grave reperoussions in Ladakh and Baltistan. Zorawar's death had aroused in the Ladakhis and Baltis a hope for freeing their countries from Dogra dominance. The steward of Hemis Monastery who was a prisoner in Tibetan hands became a tool of the Chinese to foment revolt in Ladakh. He sent secret information to Ladakh that "the Wazir is dead, and the Tibetan army is reported in pursuit. Therefore Upper and Lower Ladakh should be made ready for war."[34] The Gonpo also wrote to the British authorities for help which, however, was politely refused. But he joined the Chinese and was proceeding to Ladakh. The ex-ruler of Ladakh and his minister declared themselves for the Tibetans and staged a revolt in the country and besieged the Dogra garrison there, and made frantic appeals to the Lhasa authorities for help in expelling the invaders out of Ladakh. The Tibetans decided to invade Ladakh and despatched 400 Chinese towards Leh who halted at Nimamut, some 8 marches[35] east of the place on account of outbreak of smallpox in Leh. Another detachment of Tibetans from Garo was reported to have been deployed to occupy Spiti.[36]

During the month of May, Tibetan troops speeded up their movements. In the third week 800 men from Lhasa arrived at Garo and other troops were also expected to arrive there[37] and the Tibetan preparations for carrying on war with the Dogras[38] were reported on all sides and revealed their zeal for final showdown with the Dogras. Reports from Garo and Ladakh revealed that large reinforcements wece expected to reach the former place from Lhasa and that the Dogras still held out against the Tibetans[39].

In Ladakh the revolt became widespread. Acho Gonbo contrived with the chief of the Lhasa armies, Pi-hsi, to drive Dogra armies out of Ladakh and revive the rule of the Gyalpo there. He arrived in Ladakh followed by about 3,000 men from the Garo Province, probably in the begining of April 1842.[40] Gonbo Tsewang Raftan was deputed to collect soldiers from Sham (lower Ladakh), while the Gonpo himself raised an army from the Upper Ladakh and arrived at Leh, and declared Jigsmat Namgyal as an independent Gyalpo. Weapons were supplied to the soldiers. After these arrangements had been made the rule of Jigemat Namgyal was formally insti-

34. Secret Consulations, July 6, 1842, *Nos.* 40, 44. Gonbo to Cunningham, April 18. 1842, Cunningham to Gonbo, May 3, 1842.
35. A day's march in those high plateaus consisted of about 10 miles.
36. *ORPS*, 113/28 pp. 98-102. letter No. 37, dated 20-5-1842, Cunningham to Clerk.
37. *ORPS*, 113/24, pp. 78-80, No. 23 of 2-5-1842, J.D. Cunningham to Clerk.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *ORPS*, 113/27, pp. 96-97, No. 26 of 19-5-1842, Cunningham to Clerk.
40. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu W Fatuhat Maharaja Gulab Singh Bahadur* (Urdu) 1937, pp. 394-95.

tuted in Ladakh.[41] Now from all parts of country, even from Baltistan, matchlockmen arrived, and surrounded the forts in the neighbourhood of Leh into which Dogra force had sought shelter.[42]

Detachments of Central Tibetian army also arrived in Leh, to assist the Ladakhis, The principal officer of these Tibetans was Pi-hsi.[43] The strentgh of Dogra garrison at Leh, according to Francke was about 350 men.[44] Their leaders, Kumedan and Magns Thandar held council and concluded that "It looks a rebellion." They at once sent a petition to Jammu for reinforcements.[45]

The Dogra officers, Commandant Pehlwan Singh. Munshi Guran Ditta and the Futteh Platoon under Subedar Tegh Singh, sought to fortify the cantonment at Leh.[46] This Dogra force was divided into two Regiments. The one under Magna occupied the fort, while the remaining under Pehlwan Singh was stationed at Karzu Bagh. The latter place was not fortified, so he realising the gravity of the situation, moved his unit to a place apposite the fort. He took shelter inside the large stables of the Raja of Ladakh, and engaged himself in fortifying that place.[47]

The rebels started harassing them from all sides, and in cooperation with the Lhasa army, they surrounded the cantonment, the stables and the fort, and sought to separate the three places from one another. But the besiegers failed to isolate them. A desultory warfare continued for several days. At last the rebels made a night attack to annihilate the Dogra Garrison in the cantonment and the fort. The Dogra force inside the fort and contonment offered tough resistance and the battle continued till morning,[48] when the Dogras carried on sallies, and in hand to hand fight the Ladakhis were finally routed. The Dogras pursued them upto the town of Leh and slaughtered the fugitives mercilessly so that the rebles lost courage and could not recover their strength for some time, and even gave up the siege.[49] The Dogra force in Leh held out for 6 months by which time reinforcement arrived.[50] In

41. *Ibid*

42. *ORPS*, 113/19, p. 66, No. 18 of 4-3-1842.

43. Francke, A.H., *A Hist. of the Western Tibet*, p. 165.

44. *Ibid*

45 Francke, A.H., *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Pt. II *Arch Surv. of India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1926, p. 135.

46. Kirpa Ram. *Gulabnama*, (Text), 1876, p. 394.

47. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

48. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 394-95.

49. *Ibid.*

50. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama* (text) 1876, p. 252.

Purig also the situation was not much different from that of Ladakh. The Kahlon of Malbe and the Raja of Saut captured aud murdered the Dogra garrison. The same was repeated at Suru-kartse. The Raja of Pushkam also did the same but did not join the rebels. Only Dras remained peaceful In Baltistan, however, a rebellion broke out in full force. Rajas Ali Khan of Rondu, Dault Khan of Khapulu, Khurram Khan of Kurrus and Haider Khan of Shigar raised standard of revolt and imprisoned Bhagwan Singh of Iskardu. Haider Khan captured Kharpoche fort and proclaimed his rule in Iskardu also. Consequently no vestige of Dogra rule was suffered to exist in Baltistan[51].

Preparations for the Final Showdown.

The news of Dogra disaster in Tibet and Ladakhi revolts came to Raja Gulab Singh as a bolt from the blue. He was overtaken by a great calamity at the juncture when he was expected to assist the English armies in their Kabul expedition. From Almora Basti Ram had written an *arzi* describing what had occured to him and Zorawar Singh, and the same was forwarded through Mr. Lushington the Britsih Commissioner of Kumaon on 16th January, 1842[52]. This letter reached Gulab Singh, probably, on 15th Febrnary. He was reported to be much disconcerted at the news of the fate of Zorewsr[53], as it might perhaps cause him the loss of all his possession north of the Himalaya and his thoughts were now "bent towards Cashmere, there to collect a force with which as soon as the season admits, to march on Ladakh[54]. He was therefore anxious to get away from Peshawar and repair to Ladakh against which the Chinese were advancing.[55]

But before embarking on the reconquest of Ladakh and its dependencies Gulab Singh wanted to ascertain the feelings of the British Government on this measure[56], and also to make proper arrangement for safeguarding British interest on the west of the Indus. The British authorities were willing to respect the Raja's sentiments because they were equally in need of his help in their operations across the Khaibar Pass. Earlier they had not responded favourably to the proposition of the darbar for the cooperation of two governments against the

51. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 394.95.

52. *ORPS*, 55/17, p. 36, dated 16-1-1842, Lushington to Clerk.

53. *ORPS*, 41-B/45, D.O., dated 16-2-1842, Lawrence to Clerk. Kirpa Ram say's that Gulab Singh received this news, probably Basti Ram's letter, in the beginning of Phagan, 1898, corresponding to 14/15 February, 1842 *Gulab.*, 252.

54. Edwards and Merivale, Life of Sir H.M. Lawrence, pp. 225-26. Also ORPS, 41-B/45 A of 17-2-1842, Lawrence to Clerk.

55. *ORPS*, 41/42, p. 33, dated 17-2-1842, Lawrence to Clerk.

56. *ORPS*, 41-B/45A, dated 17-2-1842, Lawrence to Clerk.

Chirese on the Lhasa frontier[57], yet they made it very clear that the British Government could not reasonably offer any obstacles to the Rajas in the maintenance of their authority at Ladakh while it desired their cordial cooperation at Peshawar. The defence of Ladakh by the Jammu Rajas against the Chinese or Tibetan authorities. was, however, in the British Governer-General's opinion, a legitimate measure and he would wish the Rajas every success.[58]

After ascertaining that the British Government was favourably disposed to his interests in Ladakh, he made satisfactory arrangements for securing British interests beyond the Indus. Only then in the beginning of May 1842 was he allowed by the Lahore Darbar to leave Peshawar to superintend measure of defence against the advance of the Chinese on Ladakh[59].

He had, however, already directed his commander, Dewan Hari Chand, to defend Ladakh against Chinese advance. The latter left for Jammn by forced marches, and was met by Raja Dhian Singh who had also left Lahore for Jammu on the receipt of the tragic information with a view to equip a fresh force for Ladakh[68]. After much urgent exertions Raja Dhian Singh marshalled a powerful army and despatched it to Ladakh under Mian Ratnu.[61] By the end of April 1842 the movement of some Chinese troops from Lhasa towards Garo was reported. The Ladakhi king, who had declared his independnce of the Dogras, had sent presents to Lhasa as a token of allegiance to Tibet[62]. His treasurer wrote to the British for mediation in the dispute between the Chinese and the Sikhs[63], which at first did not interest the

57. *ORPS*, 153/11, pp. 24-31. dated 15-1-1842, G.R. Clerk to T.A. Madddock. There had been several moves on the part of the Darbar and the Dogra Rajas to implicate the British Government in some form in their forward policy in Tibet. Even as early as the middle of October 1841, Rai Kishan Chand, the Darbar Agent in Mr. Clerk's of ice had suggested that the British and Sikh Governments, should cooperate against the Chinese but Mr. Clerk discouraged the proposition *ORPS*, VII, 152/55, dated 20-10-1841 G.R. Clerk to T.H. Maddock. A month latter Raja Dhian Singh had also proposed that, were an invasion (of Tibet) to be undertaken in great force on this frontier of China in concert with the British Government it would be very beneficial to both the allied Government *Punjab Akhbars*. 1839-40, dated 22-11-1841. A similar proposition was received from the Darbar for the cooperation of the two Governments against the Chinese on the Lhasa frontier, on 15-1-1842 (*ORPS*, 133/11, Clerk to Maddock). As late as June 1842 the Dogra Rajas had repeated their wish for the cooperation of the British towards Tibet.

ORPS, 153/102, dated 11-6-1842, G.R. Clerk to T.H. Maddock.

58. *ORPS* 153/31. pp. 73-76, Letter No. 77, dated 15-12-1842, Clerk to T.H. Maddock.

59. *ORPS*, 158/90, pp. 248-50, Letter No. 206 of 6-5-1842, Clerck to T.H. Maddock.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *ORPS*, 153/17, pp. 40-45, Letter No. 39 of 20-1-1842.

62. *ORPS*: 113/23, pp. 75-77, dated 28-4-1842, Cunningham to Clerk.

63. *Ibid.*

British Governor-General. But when G.R. Clerk wrote to his Government in May on the success which might be anticipated for the Jammu Rajas against the Chinese now that Raja Oulab Singh was in command of the force,[64] the British Governor-General made up his mind to show some interest in re-establishing peace between the Sikhs and the Chinese and conveyed his 'no objection' to Lt. Cunningham acting as a mediator to bring about a reconciliation beween the Rajas of Jammu and the Chinese authorities on the Tibetan frontier[65]. The request for mediation, however, did not come from any side.

The petition from Ladakhi 'aboriginals' and the Balti Khan and his people asking to be allowed to "pledge alliance to the Tibetan Shang. Shang has received assent of the Chinese Emperor on May 31, 1842[66]. So 5000 additional Tibetan troops left Lhasa for Ladakh in June[67]. By the end of June nearly all the Chinese troops east of the Manasarovar lake had been sent towards Leh. Some 3,000 to 3,500 troops were reported to be with the young Raja of Ladakh. The Dogras appeared to be waiting for reinforcement from Kashmir. By the first fortnight of July, preparation on both the sides seemed to have been completed and a large Dogra army had arrived at Leh and the Chinese force had assembled some four marches east of that place.[69] This condition lasted for about a month,[70] and no skirmish had taken place to the end of July. During this period the Dogras had built a fort at Leh and reinforcements from Kulu and Spiti had arrived.[71] The Chinese probably tried to avoid an engagement with the Dogras till winter had set in. But the Dogras were now ready to strike. They had stamped out rebellion in Zanskar and Purig with the help of Sucheta, the *thanadar* of Kargal, and retaken Malbe and Pushkum. Then they advanced in two groups, each under Wazir Ratnu and Diwan Hari Chand, and met at Thasgam about two miles away from Leh. At the very approach of the Dogra force the Tibetans under Bakshi Chhak jot lifted the siege of Leh cantonment and withdrew a few miles away. The following day they joined the garrison of Pehlwan Singh Kamedan (Commandant Tegh Singh Subedar and Bakshi Guran Ditta at Labrang near Ladakh cantonment.[72]

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64. *ORPS*, 153/103, pp. 264-65, letter No. 224, of 11-5-1842, Clerk to Cunningham.
65. *ORPS*, 130/118, p. 280, letter No. 178 of 19-5-1842, Maddock to Clerk.
66. Fisher, Rose, Huttenback, *Himalyan Battleground, op. cit.*, pp. 156 & 169.
67. *Nepal Political Diaries*, September 1, 1842, Enclosures, Vol. 89. 1849.
68. *ORPS*, 113/33, pp. 121-22, letter No. 32, dated 29-6-1842, Cunningham to Clerk.
69. *ORPS*, 113/34, pp. 123-30, letter No. 33 of 9-7-1842, Cunningham to Clerk.
70. *ORPS*, 113/35, pp. 131-35, letter No. 34 of 26-7-1842, Cunningham to Clerk.
71. *ORPS*, 113/38, pp. 149-51, letter No. 37 of 5-8-1842, Cunningham to Clerk.
72. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, p. 257.

After six days of stay there the Dogra Commander despatched about 1,000 men under Mian Jawahir Singh towards Jaskar, and 500 men under Mian Narainia to Labrah. The porters and coolies from Kashmir were paid off and sent back. Bakski Chhak-jot, the leader of the Ladakhi rebels, who had taken shelter in the Rudok fort, considered the time opportune for an attack on the Dogras in Ladakh. He deployed a thousand men under the command of his brother, Achhan-jot, and Karnsha against the Dogras at Ladakh. They advanced to a place near Gonpa Chamre some fifteen miles from Ladakh A Dogra contingent under the command of Sardul Singh commandant and Lala Ramji Mal Munshi was despatched against the rebels. The Ladakhis were routed and took shelter in Gonpa Chamre. At this the main force of the Dogras under Diwan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratnu besigned that place and set up a cannon on the top of a hill and started shelling the fort. The Tibetan garrison lost heart and after four days surrendered the place. Sardul Singh Commandant and Ramji Mal Munshi were left in change of that place and the Dogra force marched back to Ladakh[73]. Raja Gulab Singh had by then arrived at Kashmir so the news of this victory was conveyed to him there.

The Final Showdown and The Peace Treaty-August, 1842.

After withdrawing from Leh and other strongholds, Tibetans and their Ladakhi accomplices, under General Pi-hsi, arrived at Tantse near the western end of the Fang-Kong Lake and there they were joined by a Tibetan army of 3,000[74] men under the command of Raghsha and Zarkang[75]. They dug trenches and erected a fortified camp there within six days.[76]

According to Meng-Pao's account the Tibetan defence post was set up at Jung-war an area between Rudok and Pang-Kong lake, a place on the Tibetan frontier[77]. This camp was situated in the lower part of a narrow valley and the storming of it would have meant a considerable loss to the Dogras. The whole of the Dogra force marched thither and established their first contact with the enemy, probably during the last week of July 1842. After failing in a night attack the Tibetians were compelled to take shelter in their strongly located contontment A desultory battle raged for 8 days without any gain to either side. Probably on the first of August, the eighth day of confrontation, the Dogas made a desperate charge on the enemy positions,

73. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, p. 258.

74. 3,000 men according to Francke, *Hist. of* W.T., p. 116, but 5000 according to Ladakhi Chronicles and Nepali correspondence. See *Himalayan Battleground*, by Fisher, Rose, Huttenback, p. 55.

75. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, p. 260

76. Meng-Pao, *Hsi-Tsang Trou-Shu* (Memorial from Meng-Pao to the Emperor, October 25 1842). Dogra accounts raise their number to 6,000 men led by Bakshi Chahk-jot Ragasha Kahlon and Raz-hak Garphon aided by a cannon which they bad wrested from Wazir Zorawar Singh.

77. Fracke, A.H, *A History of Western Tibet*, op. cit., p. 160.

but had to retreat after a loss of 300 men (only 120 according to Meng-Pao) and one officer, Commander Maju Singh, killed[78]

After four days' lull in fighting the Dogras planned to eject the Tibetans from their trenches by daming the valley and inundating their positions. Within three days of the erection of dam the Tibetan trenches were flooded and had to be deserted. Outside their fortifications the Tibetans were not equal to the well armed Dogras. An soon as they were on the move, the Dogra Commander Diwan Hari Chand attacked them. "In these battles," reported Mang-Pao, the imperial Resident at Lhasa, to the Chinese Emperor, "Jupon Tun-Chieh-ch' a wang, and Chiapon Chi-pu pa, together with one more Chiapon and two Tingapons, were lost. Most of the Tibetans fled and many were made prisoners. The Dogra loss, according to Meng-Pao was 230 men and two minor officers killed. However as a result of this battle the Dogras were prevented from crossing the Tibetan boundary."[79] The Dogras seized two persons of rank. one of whom was the Tibetan General Ragasha. who made an unsuccessful bid to escape and got killed in the attempt.[80] Probably he was decapitated to avenge the death of Zorawar Singh on the Tibetans.[81]

After the seizure of the Tibetan officers the Dogra army fell upon the Tibetans and surrounded them on all sides. The beleagured army surrendered. Their arms were confiscated and they were allowed to escape. The arms and weapons which fell to enemy hands in the battle with Wazir Zorawar Singh were recovered. Chinese leaders such as Mor tan Chin, Achah Gonpa and Ahmad Shah, Raja of Iskardu, became captives,[82] After this contest of several days and their ultimate defeat, the Chinese forces retreated towards Tashigong.[82] This event might have taken place around 10 August, 1842. The reports emanating from various quarters after that date describe the event as a fait accompli.

On hearing of the grim struggle with the Tibetans Raja Gulab Singh had sent a reinforcement of 4,000 men which stopped in the way on the news of complete victory over the Tibetans.[84] Raja Gulab Siagh himself arrived at Leh in the middle of August, most probabiy on 12 August. He at once commenced the building of a fort at the capital, in place of the weak redoubt. He also sent *Vakils* to the

78. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, p. 261. The Ladakhi Chronicles name the officer "Kumidar Maca-Sin."

79. Meng-Pao, "Hsi-Tsang Tsou-Shu", in Append. to *Himalayan Battleground* by Fisher, Rose, Huttenback, p. 172.

80. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, p. 262.

81. Francke, A.H., *History* of *Westeru Tibet*, p. 167.

82. Kirpa Ram *Gulabnama*, p. 262.

83. *ORPS*. 113/43, pp. 168-92, letter No. 42, dt. Sept. 18, 1842 Cunningham to Clerk.

84. Kirpa Ram, *Gnlabnama*, p. 263.

Chinese leaders[85] to nagotiate a treaty of peace and friendship. The representatives sent were Re-tang (Wazir-Ratnu), a minor officer, and Ahmi-ch Cho, an interpreter.[86] The Dogra Rajas were probably anticiting nagotiations to prolong, so Raja Dhian Singh solicited the mediation of the British Government in the strife with the Chinese.[87] To this request the Governor General expressed his willingness to afford his good offices for the adjustment of differences between the Maharaja of Lahore and the Chinese upon any reasonable terms.[88] A settlement however, was arrived at without British mediation, though the latter had the satisfaction that the influence of the British Government has brought about this result. The treaty of peace and friendship was signed on 14 September, 1842. The Lhasa leaders, the Wazir Zoorking and others, were released after the exchange of treaty documents.[89]

By this written instrument the Chinese agreed that : " . as regards the boundary of the country of Ladakh including suburbs, fixed of ancient days, we will at all have no concern and nothing to do. We will export shawl-pushm and tea according to old tradition by way of Ladakh yearly. and if any one of Sri Maharaja Sahib Bahadur's enemies comes to our quarter and territories, we will not entertain the word of the said enemies, and will give no shelter in our country to the aforesaid men, and whatever traders of Ladakh will come to our territories shall meet no hindrances, and whatever we stipulate in writing on the face of the contract about solidarity and friendship, unity, and fixing of the frontier of Ladakh territory and the keeping open of the road for the traffic in shawl-pushm and tea, will not in the least be infringed by us.[90]

Thus the annual trade between Lhasa and Leh was reinstanted, the Dogras taking the place and obligations of the Ladakhi kings. Jigsmad Namgyal had to be satisfied with the village of Stog and the taxes of its

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85. *ORPS*, 113/39, pp. 152-53, letter No. 38, dated 18-8-1842, Cunningham to Clerk.

86. Meng-Pao, 'Hsi-tsang Tsou-shu,' in *Himalayan Battleground*, by Fisher, Rose, Huttenback, p. 173.

87. 154/45, pp. 108-11, Letter No. 370 dated 31-8-1842, Clerk to T.H. Maddock.

88. *ORPS*, 131/86, p. 173, Letter No. 772, dated 5-9-1842, Maddock to Clerk.

89. *ORPS*, 154/65, pp. 151-52, Letter No. 424, dated 31-8-1842, Clerk to Maddock, The date given in the Persian version of the treaty in the *Gulabnama* is 14 Sept. whereas according to the information received by G.R. Clerk, the British Agent, the peace had been made with the Lhasa authorities on the 24 September, 1842. *ORPS*, 113/48 pp. 188-89, Letter No 47, dated 28-10-1842, Cunningham to Clerk.

ORPS, 113/46, pp. 183-84, letter No. 45, dated 19-10-1842 Cunningham to Clerk ; *ORPS*, 113/48, pp. 188-89, letter No. 47, dated 28-10-1842, Cunningham to Clerk ; 113/49, pp. 190-92, letter No. 48, dated 1-12-1842, Cunningham to Clerk.

90. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, pp. 264-65.

few peasants, and hardly a single one of the old Ladakhi, Official remained in office.[91]

According to the Persian version of the treaty the Tibetans referred to the ancient boundaries of Ladakh and guaranted that they would in future have no designs on Ladakh. that they would not aid or give shelter to Gulab Singh's enemies, and that they would carry shawl-wool and tea trade via Leh in accordance with the old customs.

In both the Tibetan and Persian notes the existing situation was recognised. On the part of the Tibetans, the Dogras were recognised as the legitimate authority in Ladakh. Gulab Singh surrendared all claims on western Tibet. The old established frontiers" were reafirmed and both the contracting parties agreed to respect them. The Gyalpo was permitted to reside in Ladakh so long as he refrained from intrigues against the Dogra rulers. He was granted permission to send annual gifts to Dalai Lama and his ministers if he so desired.

The British Government raised no objection to the trade arrangement made by the treaty that Nari Pushm will flow to Ladakh, and not to Bushahr. British Government silently acquiesced in this settlement which shows their real interests involved in the affair were political and not commercial.

Suppression of Rebellions in Baltistan, Purig and Zanskar.

The inhabitants of Baltistan had also rebelled. The pro-Dogra rulers of Shigar and Iskardu had been imprisoned by Kachu Haidar Khan who was ruling in both principalities. The Dogra officers and soldiers deputed in these lands had been isolated and surrounded, and Dogra rule in Baltistan had come to an end. Gulab Singh had, therefore, deputed his agent Wazir Lakhpat Kashtwaria for the suppression of revolts there.[92]

At the head of 2,000 Dogras Wazir Lakhpat entered Baltistan through the Chelong Suru stream. He met resistance all through his advance but the Wazir pressed onwards and reached Kargil Diwan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratnu had already curbed the rebels in the Tek-mu battle and had left for Ladakh Wazir Lakhpat therefore set the internal administration in order and made up preparations for an advance on Baltistan in consultation with Raja Ali Sher Khan, ruler of Kar-Takhana.[93]

The Wazir crossed the river Dras by the Karkat bridge, and demolished at Shanghu Sighar the haunt of rebels. and made them all prisoners. Sweeping over the Dev-Sai plain he went down the Kafchun

91. Francke, A.H. *Hist. of Western Tibet*, p. 167.
92. Hashmat Ullah Khan, op. cit., p. 409; Narsing Das Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Des*, Jammu, 1947, p. 513.
93. Hashmat Ullah Khan, op. cit,. p. 410.

stream. His raid was so cautious and rapid that the rebels there were taken by surprise.

When Kachu Haidar Khan got the intelligence of the arrival of the army in Kaf-chun, he gave up the idea of battle and shut himself up in Khar-puche fort.[94] The Wazir reached Iskardu and set siege to the fort, which continued for several days. But the Wazir's strategy did not work. He then purchased the commander of the unit guarding the gate who kept the gate open. The garrison was taken by surprise and was completely annihilated The fort was captured by the Dogra army by morning Kachu Haidar Khan had to escape. but was captured along with his 80 companions and sent to Jammu.

The Wazir Lakhpat set fire to Khar-puche and razed it to ground, and completed the new fort on the top of a hill, foundation of which had been laid by Wazir Zorawar Singh. He appointed Bhagwan Singh, who had been released from his Niali confinement as the commander of the new fort with a garrison of 300 men. For the maintenance of this garrison he levied, in addition to the Raja's cesses, some new ones in kind in the form of certain quantities of wheat, butter, salt and fodder which were to be collected by the Raja of Iskardu and handed over to the garrison. No *nazarana* or revenue was to be charged from the people.[95]

Muhammad Shah was confirmed in his'Rajaship of Iskardu and his powers and prerogatives were not interfered with. The Rajas of Khapulu and Kurrus were confirmed and their jagirs were continued as before. Raja Ali Sher Khan was maintained in his jagir of Kartakshsho. Similarly Ahmad Khan Raja of Tolti was retained in his jagir.

After settling affairs at Iskardu and Shigar Wazir Lakhpat attacked the Raja of Rondu who submi(ted and surrendered his son as hostage. The rebel Raja of Astor was also hnmbled and reinstated in his office. He captured all the rebel leaders and carried them along.[96]

He set up garrisons in the forts of Kargil, Dras and Suru for the defence of Purig. In short, Wazir Lakhpat's expedition met with a singular success and the administration he set up in Baltistan and Purig became the foundation for future government.

He then reduced Zanskar captured the Gyalpo Cheymur and his family, and appointed Mehta Basti Ram the *thanadar* of Zanskar and also built a new fort there. The haunts of rebels were thus demolished and the whole of Baltistan, Purig and Zanskar was reduced to complete submission before Wazir Lakhpat left for Jammu with a crowd of prisoners and hostages.[97]

94. Ibid.
95. Ibid. p. 411.
96. Ibid., p 413.
97. Ibid., p. 414.

Thus the territories lost as a result of General Zorawar Singh's defeat and death were successfully retrieved by Gulab Singh. He wisely directed the expedition against the rebels and the Tibetan invaders. In a short space of three months all the territories of Baltistan, Ladakh and Zanskar were reclaimed and reconquered. These territories became an integral part of Jammu Raj by an international treaty. Gulab Singh succeeded appreciably well in enhancing his prestige as military commander and conqueror.

Anglo-Dogra Rivalry in Central Asia

When General, Wazir Zorawar Singh conquered Ladakh and Baltistan during 1834 and 1840, the British found no excuse to intervene, nor were these conquests considered by them in any way injurious to British interests.[98] Surprisingly, it was the Lahore Darbar and not the British Government which became concerned over the affair at that time, and the latter only noticed that Gulab Singh's commercial regulations interfered with the regular supply of shawl-wool and "the grasping ambition of the favouritcs" caused Ranjit Singh some misgivings amidst all their protestations of devotion and loyalty. The British had not felt as much concerned over the Dogra conquests of the Ladakhi and Balti territories in spite of the fact that the Gyalpos of these territories had offered to tender their allegiance and sought British protection. But the representation of the chiefs of these countries remained unheeded, and the British government thought it better to stick to its previous policy of non-interference and the British Governor General instructed G R. Clerk "that there can be no reason for interference on the part of his Government."[99] However they had not at all relished these encroachments of Dogras.

On the question of Yarkand they could not remain passive as Anglo-Chinese negotiations over the first Opium War were taking an amicable turn and so they did not want that Dogra invasion of Yarkand should in any way cause them embrassment. So the British Agent at Lahore Darbar recommended to the Sikh Maharaja" to require Raja Gulab Singh to desist from his designs on Yarkand,[100] because the British authorities were of the opinion that Gulab Singh had opened squabbles with Yarkand, seized Garoo in Chinese Tibet (thus monopolising trade in shawl-wool), and made the frontier of Jammoo conterminous with that of the Goorkhas in Nepal, no great friends of the English Empire in India.[101]. The success of Dogra arms in Tibet therefore alarmed the British. "By making a thrust into Western Tibet", observed a British political agent, "Raja

98. Wade to Government, 27th Jan., 1835 ; Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir and Tibet* II, 352.

99. Governor-General to G.R. Clerk, 1-3-1841, Pol. Consul. For Deptt., 1-3-1841 No. 129.

100.

101. Edvardes & Marivale, *Life of H.M. Lawrence*, pp. 225-26.

Gulab Singh was desirous of acquiring territory, and he was also intent on monopolising the trade in shawl-wool.[102]

Ranjit Singh had also realised the value of some sort of understanding with Nepal, but he had discouraged Zorawar Singh from his trans-Himalawan expenditions for fear of the Chinese military power.[103] But after his death the need for close cooperation with Nepal was felt keenly because the Lahore kingdom had been thorougly isolated and gradually encircled on all sides. The British diplomats therefore concluded that the real aim of the Dogra capture of Taklakot was to establish direct relations with Nepal in the hope of promoting a mutually advantageous alliance,[104] and report of British agents positively emphasised the fact that Zorawar Singh wanted to build a chain of forts from Ladakh to the borders of Nepal and was endeavouring to gain Nepal's cooperation in this matter,[105]. Probably Nepal hoped to convert this alliance into a means of recaptuing Kumaon.

As stated earlier, Gulab Singh's chief object in the conquest of Ladakh was two fold : to encircle the Kashmir Valley, and to gain access to the lucrative wool trade. With Ladakh in his hands all he had to do was to enforce Ladakh's ancient claim to West Tibet which would give him the complete control which he desired.

The fear of the British Government, however was readily stimulated at the realisation of the prospect of a Dogra-Sikh-Nepali axis as soon as Wazir Zorawar Singh marked his entry in Tibetan territory by storming and occupying the frontier military post of Rudok on June 5, 1841.[106] The British officials received the intelligence of Zorawar Singh's military exploits in Tibet with deep concern. Mr. G.R. Clerk conveyed on 15th June, 1841, the first report of a collision having occurred between the troops of Zorawar Singh and the militia of Bashahr at some place near the frontier of Ladakh. He also remarked on the designes of Wazir Zorawar Singh on Kanwar and Rudok and suggested interference.[107]

In order to remain well posted on the proceedings of the Dogra forces in Tibet the British authorities thought of deputing a British officer to some advance point on the frontier for the purpose of obtaining accurate and early intelligence.[108] Consequently,

102. Clerk to Governmant, 5th and 22nd June, 1841.

103. Suri, V.S. *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Eng. trans , p. 282.

104. Political Proceedings, June 12, 1837, No. 41 ; Wade to Chief Secretary Fort William-N.A.I., New Delhi.

105. Seeret Consultations, September 13, 1841, No. 20, Lushington to Secretary, Govt. of N.W.P,, August 25, 1841-N.A.I., New Delhi.

106. Secret Consultation, Decemher 20, 1841. No. 40. National Archives of India New Delhi.

107. ORPS, 151/67, No. 85 of 15-6-1841, G.R. Clerk to T.H. Maddock.

108. ORPS, 54/17, Lunshington to G.R. Clerk, 15-7-1841, and 128/125, of 16-8-1841.

Lieutenant Joseph Davey Cunningham was appointed as Agent to the British frontier. Maharaja Sher Singh was also apprised of J.D. Cunningham's deputation to the borders of Ladakh to inquire into the matter.[109] J.D. Cunningham left Simla on October 11, 1841. He was instructed to inquire the intentions of Wazir Zorawar Singh or his subordinates advancing on Rudok, Gartok and Manasarawar the number and description of troops with which he or his officers, had captured the latter place, the cause and pretext of these encroachments and nature and ramification of trade between Yarkand and Ladakh and between Bashahr and Ladakh.[110]

On reaching the border of Kanwar Cunningham observed from a close quarter all the military movements of Dogras and conveyed the intelligence to the British authorities who also received similar reports from their representatives at Kathmandu, the Commissioner of Kumaon and other sources. Posted with all the facts of the situation they assessed Dogra conquest of the regions of Tibet a great danger to their interests which were found to be in conflict with those of the Dogras and the Sikhs.

British Pressure for Recall of Zorawar Singh

From the begining of the Tibetan episode, the British officials were apprehensive of Chinese offence and were of the opinion that China will not vtew with indifference the seizure of Garo by the Sikhs.[111] They therefore let the Darbar understand that the Governor-General may probably insist on the return of the Sikh or Jhmmu troops from the scene of their aggression.

Quite a vague answer to this protest was received. The reply regarding the conquest was that no certain intelligence had been received, but that Zorawar Singh had probably coerced the tribes bordering on Ladakh for their carelessness.[113]

The Secretary to the Government of India was alive to the danger of allowing the Sikhs and Gulab Singh to establish their authority in that quarter. He took a stern stand and authorised Mr. Clerk formally to require the Maharaja recall Zorawar Singh and his detachment forthwith[114]. Mr. Clerk launched a strong protest with the Darbar

109. ORPS, 155/131, G.R. Clerk to Maharaja Sher Singh, 28-9-1841.

110. Sec. Cons. For. Dept., 25 Oct., 1841, No. 28, Clerk to Cunningham.

111. ORPS, 54, S. No, 31, dated 3-8-1841, B.H. Hodgson, Resident Nepal, to G.R. Clerk, Agent NWF.

112, ORPS, 128/137, pp. 279-89, Letter No. 1084, dated 16-8-1841, T.H. Maddock, Secretary to the Govt. of India to G.R. Clerk, Agent NWF.

113. ORPS, 152/43, pp. 131-33, Letter No. 140, dated 9-9-1841 ; 155/124, p. 129, letter No. 1, dated 23-9-1841, Lahore Darbar to Rai Govind 7ut.

114. ORPS, 128/152, pp. 331-32. Letter No. 1307, dated 20-9-1841, T.H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India to G.R, Clerk, Agent, NWF.

against Zorwar Singh's encroachmenis and renewal of Sikh claims on Chinese Tartary (Tibet). He also suggested to his Government the adoption of peremptory measures with the Darbar for the withdrawal of Zorawar Singh on account of his aggressions.[115]

The Maharaja Sher Singh took it easy and the minister, Dhian Singh wanted to give ample time to his brother Gulab Singh, to take as much territory as was possible.[116] They, therefore, neither gave satisfactory replies about Zorawar Singh's activities, nor committed themselves to the British demand of withdrawal of Zorawar Slngh.[119] The impatient British Government conld not wait for the results of the representation to Lahore court. They fixed the 10th December, 1841 as the date by which the Governor-General Lord Auckland, expected Zorawar Singh's Dogra troops would withdraw.[118]

Maharaja Sher Singh justified the proceedings of Wazir Zorawar Singh, but at the same time he also committed that orders have been issued for his return to the usual position as required by the British Government.[119]

The Maharaja was even obliged to own that Zorawar had acted as he had in ignorance of the treaties between the Lahore and the British Governments.[120] The Khalsa Government then wrote a letter directing Zorawar to return to Ladakh and to send Kesra Singh to Lahore. But Wazir Zorawar Singh had apparently not received upto 18th November, the orders of the Lahore Darbar directing him to withdraw to Ladakh.[121] Sheikh Gulam Mohi-ud-din reported from Cashmere that Wazir Zorawar Singh "was still on the other side of Ladakh owing to the fall of snow, but was prepared to return to that place.[122]

The Dogra Rejas and thelr General Zorawar Singh, had resented all this interference by the British Government in their affair. They did not relish the idea of relinquishing their Tibetan conquests. But they could not side-track the desire of their overlord Maharaja Sher Singh. Differences between the Maharaja and his minister Raja Dhian Singh, over rhe Tibetan affair had appeared. The

115. ORPS, 152/48, pp. 138-46, Letter No. 146, dated 22-9-1841, G.R. Clerk, Agent NWF.

116. Bajpai, S.C. *The Northern Frontier of India*, 1970, p, 43.

117. ORPS, 152/49, pp. 146-49, Letter No. 147, dated 28-9-1841 ; 152/54, pp. 155-57, Letter No. 154, dated 14-10-1841.

118. ORPS, 155/132, p. 140, dated 19-10-1841, G.R, Clerk to Maharaja Sher Singh.

119. ORPS, 155/133, pp. 134a to 138a, dated 31-10-1841, Maharaja Sher Singh to G.R. Clerk, Agent, NWF.

120. ORPS, 155/134, pp. 138a-140a ; 155/134, pp. 140a-41a, Maharaja Sher Singh to Rai Kishan Chand.

121. ORPS, 113)5, dated 18-11-1841, Cunningham to G.R. Clerk.

122. *Punjab Akhbars*, No. 613, dated 22-11-1841.

Maharaja had desired Fakir Aziz-ud-din to wrlte u letter on His Highness' part to Mr. Clerk stating the urgency of the Maharaja's orders to recall Wazir Zorawar Singh from the scene of new conquests agalnst the will of the Rajas to which the Fakir replied that such a letter would only exhibit a dtfference between His Highness and his minister and produce no benefit.[123]

In the face of British protests and the Maharaja's anxiety to back np the British demand, Raja Dhian Singh was left with no other alternative than to seek British cooperation in the Dogra designs on Tibet. He tried to entice British authorities in the plan of Tibetan conquests by suggesting that the Sikh and British Gvernments should cooperate against the Chinese[124] Raja Dhian Singh even conveyed his personal suggestion to the British authorities that "were an invasion to be undertaken in great force on this frontier of China in concert with the British Government, it would be very beneficial to both the allied Governments."[125]

These approaches, however, were discouraged by the British officials and Raja Dhian Sigh had at last to order the Wazir to return to Ladakh. The Wazir in consequence recalled all his officers and taoops from advance posts. But he still retained the possession of all his conquests. At the same time he greatly regretted the receipt of such orders and reported to Raja Dhian Singh, denying any interference with the Almora and Kumaon districts, and informed them that he had withdrawn all his troops from near that country and, that no movement could now be effected owing to the fail of snow, but he will return himself to Ladakh without fail. The *Parwanas* from Lahore Darbar directing Zorawar Singh to withdraw to Ladakh were forwarded to him through Lieut. J.D. Cunningham. The Lahore Darbar had ultimately acquiesced in the British demand of withdrawal of conquering troops and the relinquishment of new conquests.

THE CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The real causes for the British intervention in the Dogra conquest of Tibet are not far to seek. The British commercial interests in Tibet and Bashahr have been presumed by many to be one of these. The lucrative shawl-wool trade had normally flowed from the plains of Chong Tsang, (North-Western Tibet) through Ladakh to the looms of Kashmir. The hostilities and the subsequent disorders attending the Dogra conquest of Ladakh since 1834 had temporarily diverted the shawl-wool trade to Bashahr. The initial effect of the occupation of Western Tibet by the Dogras was a sharp drop in the flow of wool to the factories of Bashahr. The officials of East India Company probably resented this slump and the Commissioner of Kumaon went

123. *Punjab Akhbars*, 1839-40, No. 617, dated 25-11-1841, p. 263.

124. ORPS, 152/55, pp. 158-59, letter No. 155, dated 20-10.1841, G.R. Clerk, Agent, N.W.F. to T.H. Maddock, Secretary to the Govt. of India.

125. *Punjab Akhbars*, 1839-40, p. 261, dated 22-11-1841.

to the length of snggesting "the interferenee of the British in order to revive the trade which is at present at a standstill,"[126] and Mr. Clerk was required to launch an effective protest in the matter with the Lahore Darbar.

Cunningham took great pains in collecting data on trade and forwarding reports pertaining to Bashahr trade and the effect which might have been produced on it by the late proceedings of Zorawar Singh in the adjoining territories.[127] British officials and agents continued to study and report on injurious effects on trade of the Dogra occupation of Western Tibet till middle of 1842, and complained of hardship and injustice which the Bashahr and Kanawari traders had suffered at the hands of Sikhs since they possessed themselves of Ladakh.[128]

After the withdrawal of Dogra claims on Western Tibet the question of Indo-Tibetan trade had to be taken up with Lhasa authorities. The Lhasa Wazir, Zoorkung assured Cunningham of giving protection to traders as before, but announced that if the trade in shawl-wool through Bashahr arose subsequent to the Sikh occupation of Ladakh, it must be discontinued.[129] Although Cunningham stressed the point that the trade had been in existence for upwards of 20 years, yet the British Government did not give it much serious thought. It seems to have been aware of the fact that flow of trade in hills followed the course dictated by convention and topographical factors rather than trade pacts.

The British Government was finally informed of the possibility of the Sikhs and Tibetans coming to an understanding to adjust their existing differences on terms based upon a monopoly of the shawl-wool trade in favour of Kashmir via Ladakh. With the cession of hostiities between the Dogras and Tibetans, the old trade relations between Leh and Lhasa, which the wars had for a time upset, were restored by the treaty signed on 22nd Septembes, 1842[130], which laid down, "That in conformity with ancient usage tea, pusham and shawl-wool shall be transmitted by the Ladakh road. That no person from Ladakh to Tibet and vice-versa will be obstructed[131]." The British

126. ORPS, 128/140, pp, 292-94, dated 17-8-1841, T. Thomason to G R. Clerk.
127. ORPS, 113/4, Letter No. 4, dated 13-1-1841 ; 152/80, p 213 Letter No. 207 dated 29-11-1841 ; 128/206, p 413, Letter No. 1703, dated 22-11-1841.
128. ORPS, 113/8, pp. 27-29, Letter No. 8, dated 14-12-1841, Cunningham to G.R. Clerk.
129. ORPS, 113/36, pp. 136-44, Letter No., 35, dated 50-7-1842.
130. Diwan Kirpa Ram in *Gulabnama*, p. 264, gives 2 Asuj 1899 which corresponds to 22 September, 1842. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagement & Sanads* ; has 17 September, 1842, Panikkar, p. 85, gives 15 August, 1842. The copy of treaty forwarded by Raja of Bashahr gives the date 17 October 1842. Asuj 23, 1899 (Erskine to Clerk, 1 April, 1843, Foreign Secret, 26 May, 1843 Nos. 61 63.
131. Erskine to Clerk, 1 April, 1843, For. Secret, 24 May, 1843, Nos. 61-63 ; Sapru, Appendix I ; Cunningham, pp. 220-21 ; Panikkar, pp. 84-89.

Govrrnment raised no objections to this trade settlement. This seemed to have been just an excuse for the British Government to exhibit their displeasure of the Dogra-Sikh forward policy in Tibet which had threatened their political position. In fact, they had no trade interests in Tibet, except those of local nature, and this local trade on both sides of the border continued as usual even after the settlement.

The one interest of the British authorities in Bashahr, as revealed by contemporary records, was the safeguarding of that State as part of Kumaon which they had acquired from Nepal by the treaty of Sanguli of 1816.[132] The westwards thrust of Dogra forces seemed to threaten Bashahr frontier and their reported aggression on its fringes caused some misunderstanding. As early as January 1841 the British authorities had suspected Sikh invasion of Bashahr, but their doubts were set at rest by the intelligence received on 18-1-1841 that the invasion of Bashahr by the Sikh forces will be prevented.[133] Howevar the Lahore Government was given an emphatic warning that the British Government will not countenance any aggression on its part or that of its ministers, Raja Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh, on that frontier.[134] In response the Darbar gave an assurance, and directed its Vakil, Lala Chuni Lal, to see that no aggressions are committed by the State of Lahore on the borders of Bashahr.[135] However, some minar complaints had arisen on account of infringement of the frontier of Bashahr by a small party.

The British officials demanded the punishment by the Darbar of the official commanding this aggressive party for levying a sum of money from the village[136]. The Maharaja seems to have assured British authorities to redress these complaints and that Kesra Singh, who crossed the Sutlej into Almora District, would be punished.[137] The Roja of Bashahr also put up his claims on two villages in Spiti, Pin and Gheo. which was now under Dogra occupation as part of Ladakh. Aftcr looking into the matter Cunningham rejected his claim on Gheo but upheld that on Pin.

It seems that the Dogra involvement in Bashahr was not at all feared. This affair may have been pressed beyond proportions with a view to heighten the gravity of the Dogra forward policy in Tibet and justify the British demand for Zorawar Singh's withdrawal,

132. Col. J. Nicholis to C.M. Ricketts, Principal Private Secretary, 16 May, 1815, No. 44, *Historical Papers Relating to Kumaon* 1809-1842. (Allahabad, 1956) p. 30 by B.P. Saxena.

133. *Press lists of old Records*, etc , p. 105, S. No. 447.

134. ORPS, 128/109, p. 222, dated 11-7-1841, T.H. Maddock, Secretary to Govt. of India, to G.R. Clerk, Agent, N.W.F.

135. ORPS, 155/102, pp. 113-15, Sent to the Indian Goveryment on 22-6-1841.

136. ORPS, 125/172, pp. 349-50, Letter No. 1430, dated 8-10-1841, T.H. Maddock Secretary to Govt. of India to Clerk.

137. ORPS, 155/136, p. 141, dated 31-10-1841, from Lala Harsaran Das, British News-writer at Lahore to G.R. Clerk.

The Real Apprehensions

The Dogra Sikh invasion of Tibet had threatened the political interests of the East India Company, and its officials viewed with genuine suspicion the rapid march of Dogra armies across the world's loftiest plateau. The capture by Dogras of Taklakot, close to the borders of Nepal caused real anxiety to the British Indian Government. In an uneasy consternation, they reacted violently to the Dogra movements. The increasing power and prestige of Dogra Rajas. particularly of Raja Gulab Singh, was unsavoury to British rulers of India.

Gulab Singh had not only established himself firmly in Jummu province, but had entrenched his power in Ladakh and Baltistan. He was trying to spread his influence throughout the hill states under British protection, through matrimonial negotiations. He had negotiated the marriage of the daughter of the Raja of Bashahr to his son-[138] Moreover, he was claiming the customary presents from Lahul, Kulu and Spiti which these principalities used to make to the Ladakhi king in the past, in order to increase his influence.[139]

The British Government was painfully alive to the danger of the increasing Dogra influence. Regarding the Dogra intentions in Tibet they were of the opinion that Raja Gulab Singh "had no furthur object in sending his troops to Chinese Tartary than to institute enquiries into the nature of the country with the ultimate view of establishing a hill soverignty....."[140]

Thus the British authorities had come to the conclusion that the Dogra forward movement eastward resulting in a connection between the Sikhs and the Nepalese would be dangerous to British interests.[141]

A Dogra-Sikh-Nepali rapproachment was a great political complication which could have endangered the British Government in India. From the Gorkha War of 1814-16, the cardinal point of the British policy towards Nepal was the political isolation of Nepal from other Indian states. The situation was made grave by the approach of Dogra forces near the border of Nepal.[142] When Raja Gulab Singh conquered Ladakh, it was rumoured that his real aim was to extend

138. Bajpai, S.C. *The Northern Frontier of India*, Anlied Publishers Private Limited, Bombay 1970, p. 42.

139. Alastair Lamb, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia*, London 1960, p. 68,

140. ORPS, Bundle No. 41B, S. No. 45A, Letter dated 17-2-1842, Captain H.M. Lawrence, Asstt. Agent, Governor General, Peshawar to G.R. Clerk, Agent N.W.F.

141. ORPS, 152/41, pp 127-30, Letter No. 138, 4-9-1841, G.R. Clerk. Agent Governor General, N.W.F. to T.H. Maddock, Secretary to the Govt. of India.

142. *Minute* by the Lt. Governor T.C. Robertson, Meerut, 28 Sept. 1841 ; Foreign Secret, 11 October. 1841, Nos. 46-51.

borders of Lahore kingdom to verge on Nepal in the hope of promoting a mutually advantageous alliance,[143] and having a direct contact with thc Hindu power. It was conjectured that Nepal hoped to obtain from their alliance a means of recapturing Kumaon which he had lost to the company after the Anglo-Nepali war of 1814-15. One important aspect of British interests in Kumaon was the desire to put a wedge of Company-controlled territory between these two powerful states.[144]

The British fears concerning Nepal were increasing since 1837, when a Nepali delegation had been well received in Lahore. The establishment of a Dogra post at Taklakot made the situation grave and the British Government decided not to allow the Lahore and Nepal dominions to march with one another behind the Himalayas. It was thought that the pending negotations in the opium war with China migh be affected by the presence of Dogras in Tibet.[145] Before all these events could combine to jeopardise British ihterests, the authorities decided to act. They demanded the withdrawal of the Dogra General Zorawar Singh and his troops from Tibet, and when they were informed that the Lhasa troops were already engaged in repelling the encroachment of Zorawar Singh, Cunningham was assured that "there will be no objection to restoring Garo to tne Lhasa authorities if they do not recover it themselves.[146]

The Government of East India Company thus apprehended a number of alignments against British interests in India. Any Lahore Kathmandu rapproaehement would have been harmful to the British, who were well aware of the extensive network of anti-British intrigue that reached out from Nepal to every important ruler in India and to such foreign conrts as Burma and Afghanistan.[147] For many years, it was a cardinal object of British policy to see that Nepal did not obtain a common frontier with any other "powerful and aspiring hill state.[148]

The Goveinor-General, therefore desired Mr. G.R. Clerk to inform Maharaja Sher Singh that in case Zorawar Singh was not restrained, the long-standing Anglo-Sikh friendship will be irrevocably damaged. The British Government heightened the gravity of the affair by bringing forth various insinuations as narrated above to justify their demand for recall of the Dogra General for which they exerted heavy pressure on the court of Lahore. They even set 10th December,

143. Political Proceedings, No. 41, June 12, 1837, Wade to Chief Secretary, Fort William. National Archives of India, New Delhi.

144. Margaret W. Fisher, Leo E. Rose & Robert A, Huttenback, *Himalayan Battleground*, New York, 1963, p. 50.

145. Bajpai, S.C. *The Northern Frontier of India*, 1970, p. 43.

146. ORPS, 85/264, p. 163, Letter No. 263, dated 13-12-1841. G.R. Clerk to J.D. Cunningham, Asstt. Agent, on deputation to Bashahr.

147. Leo E. Rose, "The Role of Nepal and Tibet in Sino-Indian Relations quoted in *The Himalayan Battleground* etc., p. 51.

148. Secret Consultations, Enclosure, Vol. 79, 1841, Thomason to Lushington September 1, 1841.

1841 as the deadline for the withdrawal of the Dogra forces.[149] In case compliance was not made by that date then the British Government threatened to adopt its own measures for curbing the unwarantable and hostile proceedings of those under whose directions Zorawar was acting.[150] The British agent deputed to the border of Ladakh was instructed to witness and report on its evacuation by the Dogras[151], and the Maharaja was made to realise that it was his duty to pnt an instant stop to their aggressions either by his own means or if those are not adequate to the purpose by uniting with the British Government to that object.[152] Thus on this occasion the British Governor General seemed intent on supporting his political moves by military force. Sher Singh, however, "could not afford to impair his amiable relations with the British."[173] He, therefore, hurried to order Zorawar Singh to move back within the former possession of Ladakh,[154] and asked him to present rupees 525 as *Ziafat* and rupees 125 as *Sarwarna* to Lt. Cunningham He was also desired to procure a *Razinama* or certificate of satisfication from the British observer in West-Tibet.[155] But Before these proceedings could take any shape the Tibetan armies and the caval cade of winter had moved against the Dogra forces of occupation and the decisive battle was fought at To-yo resulling in the death of Zoramar Singh and the destruction of the Dogra army. This changed the whole situation as well as the British attitude towards Dogras Rajas. Now they tried to placate Gulab Singh by upholding his claim over Ladakh against the Tibetans, and later on offered their good offices to adjust differences between the Dogra Rajas and Chinese, for they needed Gulab Singh's help in their march on Jalalabad and Kabul.

But Gulab Singh had resented this British interference in his Tibetan affairs. He did not forgive them for their political pressurisation in Zorawar's episode. While the British Governor-General was brow-beating Gulab Singh's suzerain and frightening him into disowning Zorawar and order his recall, Gulab Singh was showing his resentment by delaying the advance of the British relieving force towards Kabul.

The unwanted British interference in his Tibetan affairs provoked Gulab Singh to bring into play the black magic of diplomacy to vanquish his white rivals and make them realise his power and sway in the Punjab. The British 'politicals' at Peshawar learnt to treat him better than they had done before the Kabul disaster.

149. Datta, C.L *Ladakh and Western Himalayan Politics*, p. 163.
150. Sec. Cons. For. Deptt., of 11-10-1841, No. 47, Govt. to Clerk, 8-10-1841.
151. Sec. Cons. For. Deptt., of 8-11-1841, No. 45, a d of 11-10-1841, No. 47.
152. Sec. Cons. For. Deptt., 20-9-1841, No. 66, Government to Clerk.
153. Ibid., 22-11-1841, No. 20, Clerk to Government, 4-11-1841.
154. Ibid., Also No. 18 of 22-11-1841, Clerk to Maddock, 31-10-841.
155. Sec. Cons. For. Deptt., No. 18 of 22-11-1841. Same to same.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Spell Of Dogra Diplomacy In Sikh State

(A) THE DOGRA ROLE IN LAHORE

The one great problem faced by the Lahore State after Ranjit Singh was that of maintaining its internal unity, integrity and tranquality, as well as counteracting intrigues of its self-seeking courtiers and the British expanionists. This need of the State could not be fulfilled by a purely communal government as the succeeding events show. On the contrary, it required diplomatic genius of a secular nature which could coalesce together its divergent constituents the Muhammadan, the Sikh and Dogra Rajput. The greatest and the real danger to this heterogeneous State lay in its own body politic more than in extraneous infections. The cankerous growth which could invade its vitality had roots inside its own unhealthy growth in the form of its polity, the disposition of its organs-court, soldiery, revennes—and the character of its sovereigns, That the Sikh state lamentably lacked the wholesome balance of these, is evident from the fact that towards the end of his life, even Ranjit Singh found it difficult to coatrol the diversified and mutually antagonistic elements of which his cou t was composed, and when the reins of government passed from his hands to those of his incompetent successors, order speedily gave way to anarchy and bloodshed. "The army became supreme, and the rival princes who endeavoured to buy its support succeeded only in driving it and themselves farther and farther along the road to destruction."[1]

Ranjit had most of his life suffered from Anglo phobia and to conceal his behaviour he heartily danced to every tnne of the **'Angrez-behadur.** His successors took a big leap forward and sought to bargain away half of the Lahore kingdom in order to hold the other half for themselves with their support, as events at Lahare Court from July 1839 to March, 1846 reveal Ranjit Singh was much to share the responsibility of the abrupt downfall of the kingdom of the Punjab. The signs of downfall had in reality appeared in his lifetime. He had apprehended the British steadily approaching his borders with a view to dub his territory. He had more than once recoiled back indignantly to save his face from the touch of their red wash but did nothing to save Lahore Kingdom from their onrush. Rnther he left behind to his successors a magnified image of British

1. Payne, C.H, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, reprint, Patiala, 1970, p. 111.

power. He lived in constant dread of the British. When in 1826, Durjansal of Bharatpur sought his aid and offered him to help Bharatpur, he cowardly remarked, "I might perhaps drive the British (or the Angrez Bahadur, as he styled them) as far as Allyghur, but I should be driven back across the Sutlej and out of my kingdom."[2] In 1809 he had ignonimously yielded before British high-handedness, and again in 1830's, on the question of Sind he is said to have reminded his warlike courtiers that the Marathas fought the English once—"and where are their 200,000 spearmen now."[3] Such was the reaction of this "Massinissa" of Indian history to the naked aggressions of the British, who was unconsciously consoliding the small principalities of western Punjab only to be conveniently absorbed into the British Indian empire. His attitude thus projected a magnified impression of British power in Lahore Court resulting in lowering of its morale.

The result was that the example of his abject submission before the British was eagerly followed by his successors as the only logic for the existence of a throne. This led to the development of the disposition in the Lahore Court to look to the British in all matters, and weak candidates for throne sought British blessings and help and seemed to live under the obsessions that the British were their overlords, and had started behaving like states of Subsidiary Alliance, without, of course, singing it.

The Dogra Rajas and most of their companions in the court were opposed to the attitude of their soverigns. They wanted to see Lahore kingdom a true soverign state with an independent internal and external policy irrespective of British reaction. They did not relish the idea of being allies of a power professing subordination to the British dictates, except in case of limitations imposed bilaterally by treaties. This attitude of the Dogra Rajas had made them loathsome to the British 'Politicals' and they considered them their enemies. Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh could see through their dirty game and would not allow the British tntriguers to temper with Lahore affairs so far as it lay in their power They knew that the real danger to Ranjit's kingdom was nestled in Calcutta and Simla. The British authorities did their best to malign the Dogra Rajas, intrigued against them and imputed motives to them. The British influence in Lahore Court was mostly directed against the Dogra family ; and in spite of efforts of the Dogra Rajas to stem it, it continued mountihg due to the incompetence of the Lahore rulers and pretenders. On the accession of Kharak Singh this game had started when Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, had secrethy approached the British Agent at Ludhiana, seeking his advice and support for his claim to the throne.[4] Thus started

2. M' Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 35, rcp ; Patiala, 1971.
3. George Bruce, *Six Battles for India*, p. 59.
4. "Sher Singh, the brother, has shown discontent and mistrust and he called his followers about him and had applied to me for help. "Auckland to Hobhouse, Private 14 July, 1839. Broughton MS. No. 36476, fol. 105 a (Hasrat, p. 87).

the vile conspiracy on the part of pretenders to, and occupiers of, the throne of Lahore, for subordinating the interests and sovereignty of the Sikh kingdom to the British—a move which was opposed tooth and nail by the Dogra junta till their ranks were thinned down by assassination to only the lone survivor, Gulab Singh.

With the advent of British influence in Lahore Court a new feature entered the Lahore politics. It was the anti-Dogra move raised by the rival group anxious to capture power, a move in which rulers themselves heartily indulged. The move was initiated by the very first successor of Ranjit Singh whose accession to the throne was entirely due to the goodwill of the Dogra Rajas. Kharak Singh did not deserve the throne, nor was he qualified to hold it for long without the aid of his able Prime Minister, Dhian Singh. It is doutful, opines Steinbach, whether an individual could have been found less calculated to occupy the place of Ranjit Singh than his successor Kharak Singh.

Naturally of very weak intellect, his education totally neglected, he soon proved himself wholly incompetent to hold the reins of government.[5] He ventured to transfer his confidence from Dhian Singh, the active Prime Minister of his father, to another Chief named Chet Singh,[6] a man, who had nothing to recommed him but arrogance and sycophancy.[7] He "being desirous to become an independent minister, was rival of Dhyan Singh, and was contriving to remove him."[8] Maharaja Kharak Singh connived at the intrigues of Chet Singh against Dhian Singh, and both combined to strengthen an anti-Dogra faction at the court. The courtiers, however, were averse to Chet Singh's ambitions and Prince Nao Nihal Singh could no longer brook Chet Singh meddling with State affairs. The courtiers were so much disgusted with the favourite that "all were on the watch to seize Chet Singh."[9]

Unfortunately, the rival factions could not reconcile and Chet Singh decided to move his rival by an assassin's knife. By the 8th of October, things had reached such a pitch that the murder of the whole Dogra family had been decided on. "See, what will become of you in twenty-four hours," Chet Singh is reported to have threatened Dhian Singh in a whisper in the Court." Your humble servant, Sir, we shall see" answered Dhian Singh.[10] And the same night, not Dhian Singh, but "Chet Singh the most abnoxious and most powerful of the

5. Steinbach, *The Punjab*, rep. Patiala, 1970 pp. 19-20.
6. Hugh Murray, *History of India*, London, 1862, p. 557.
7. M' Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, rep. 1970, p. 5.
8. Abstract of Punjab Akhbars 20th July, cons. 25th September, *Punjab Akhbars*, 1839-41, pp. 239-41—NAI (ND).
9. Secret 1839 Deptt., Copy R. 14th Abstract of Punjab Akhbars, 24th September *Punjab Akhbar*, 1839-41, pp. 260, 264-NAI (ND).
10. Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, rep. Patiala, 1970, p. 214.

Maharaja' fovurittes was done to death."[11] "On October, 1839, Chet Singh, the brother-in-law and unworthy favourite of the Maharaja was murdered by a combination of Sikh chiefs instigated by Raja Dheean Singh and with the sanction of Naunihal Singh. The excuse was that Chet Singh was plotting against Dheean Singh."[12]

Kharak Singh's attempt to remove Dhian Singh from Prime Ministership was premature and inopportune. He perhaps did not realise that his own success as a ruler depended solely on Dhian Singh's cooperation.

At the murder of Chet Singh a general sense of relief was felt by all courtiers and they were all of the opinion that "now all will go straight." But the murder could not improve matters at Lahore. It not only increased chances of British interference in Lahore affairs, but also embittered relationa between the Maharaja and his son, Nao Nihal Singh. Maharaja Kharak Singh refused to acknowledge the autohrity of Nao Nihal Singh. Finally, the father and the son became averse to Dhian Singh who found wisdom in withdrawing his hand from state affairs and the Dogra Raja obtained a month's leave and left for Jammu on January 16, 1840.

The whole affair reveals that sentimentalism, nepotism and narrow factionalism reigned supreme in Lahore court at the cost of the stability of the State and soundness of its administration. The sovereign, the heir-apparent and some ambitious courtiers were all wading through the dirty mud of personal rivalries, seeking to drive away their veteran Prime Minister, only to realise their folly soon after. It is even alleged that "Nau Nihal's first object was to make himself master of the Punjab by destroying the Jammu Rajas[13]." But the very first experience of the ambitious prince was unsavoury and Dina Singh' absence from the Darbar bred more poblems and eased none. His departure aggravated Lahore affairs. Mismanagement became rampant on all sides and confusion became all the more confounded. "Consultations are hled in every place but without any satisfactory result."[14] In fact the administration of affairs was deteriorating. The turmoil created at the Darbar and the absence of a towering personality resulted in lowering the prestige of the Central Government and its hold on Kindgom. The grip of the central authority became weak and the provincial governors and *kardars*[15] were defalcating with state money and were deliberately

11. Auckland to Hobhouse (Private), 25 September, 1839, *Broughton Papers*, M.S B.M. Hasrat P.P.

12. Lord Aukland to Maharaja Kharak Singh, 24 October, 1839, *Broughton Papers*, MS.B.M. Hasrat, *P.P.*

13. *Cunntngham's History of the Sikhs*, 1915, p. 208n.

14. *ORPS*, 148-1/26 of 22-1 1840, Wade to Maddock, P.G.R.

15. *ORPS*, 147-III/173 of 9-12-1840, Wade to Maddock, P.G.R.

witholding payment.[16] The retirement of Dhian Singh, the most experienced and the most able minister the Punjab has ever had"[17] led to wide-spread chaos and shook the political and economic stability of the country. Consequently the Kanwar and his group of advisers, finding themselves incompetent, were forced to instruct Dhian Singh on January 24 to return soon to the Court 'accoding to his promise', and on January 30 sent Bhai Ram Singh to Jammu to bring back the Raja. Even the imbrcile Kharak Singh, realised the true worth of the Raja, so that he was fain to reinstate Dhian Singh in his frormer ministerial authority "under the promise of absolute power,' but the Raja declined the offer[18].

He was sceptical of intentions and sincerity of the fiickle-minded Kharak Singh who seemed to tolerate him in the Darbar because of his indispensability. The Maharaja persisted in his anti-Dogra attitude and carried on secret conspiracies to oust them from power, hurled upon Dhian Singh abuses and insults on every occasion, public or private, which the Raja bore patiently. The Maharaja remained determined to spare no effort to make his poiition untenable at the Darbar.'[19] Minawsr was taken away from the Dogra Rajas at their great chagrin, and efforts were being made to recall Diwan Kirpa Ram for installation as Wazir. In the middle of August the Maharaja resumed the Neeli Jagir of the Jammu Rajas, a measure which exasperated them still further.[20] The Dogra Rajas also suspected duplicity on the part of the Kanwar. Therefore Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh were frequently absenting themselves from the Darbar on some pretext or the other.

Kharak Singh at last died on the 5th November, 1840, prematurely old and worn out, and Nao Nihal Singh, became a king in name as well as in power ;" but the same day dazzled him with a crown and deprived him of life." He had performed the last rites at the funeral pyre of his father, and he was passing under a covered gateway (*deodhi*) with the eldest son of Gulab Singh by his side, when a portion of the structure fell, and killed the minister's nephew on the spot, and so seriously injured the prince that he became senseless at the time and expired during the night.

Raja Dhian Singh had kept the death of Nao Nihal Singh a close secret till it" was at length decided on his advice to offer the crown to the Prince Sher Singh,"[21] and till the arrival of the latter at Lahore on 8 November. The Raja who had assumed the active management of everything, secured the fort, the gates of the city, and the Gobindgarh Fort. All but the most confidential ministers were excluded from the

16. *ORPS*, 148-1/26 of 21/22-I-1840, Wade to Maddock, P.G.R.
17. *ORPS*, 149/54, Clerk to Tarrens, August 25, 1840, P.G.R.
18. *ORPS*, 149/13, Clerk to Maddock May 9, 1840, P.G.R.
19. *ORPS*, 149/58, Clerk to Maddock, August 25, 1840, P.G.R.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Steinback, *The Punjab*, pp. 25-27.

fort. On the arrival of Sher Singh, the news of Nao Nihal's death was made public and, Dhian Singh, in consultation with the senior members of the council, invited Prince Sher Singh to occupy throne. But Chand Kaur, the wife of Maharaja Kharak Singh and mother of Nao Nihal Singh who had reached on 6th November, had also preferred her claim to sovereighty.

She was not slow to challenge the legitimacy of a man whom she described as '*sheroo choba*'—the hastard son of a dyer.[22] She found ready supporters to her cause in Bhai Ram Singh and the Sindhanwala Sardar. She also tried to make a common cause with Raja Dhian Singh and tried to "win the Raja and the empire by herself adopting his son Raja Heera Singh and placing him on the vacant Guddee."[23] This was, however, declined by the sincere Raja who proposed that instead she should unite all the parties by marrying Sher Singh. This she rejected with disdain. No compromise could be arrived at. Chand Kaur, therefore, got the help of the powerful Sindhanwala Sardars and soon her party gathered strength and included Gulab Singh and Hira Singh beside about a dozen eminent courtiers of Lahore. Sher Singh described by the British as "an amiable voluptuary" had the backing of Raja Dhian Singh and a number of other courtiers. Civil war now loomed large. The disruption of the Kingdom and "*feringee*" interference was feared. Dhian Singh once again rose to the occasion and sought to reconcile the claims of both the claimants to royal power who seemed in heat of the moment least concerned about the larger interests of the Sikh kingdom. He struck a bagain between two parties and on 17 November a calition arragement was arrived at including Chand Kaur as Regent under the designation "*maee*" and Sher Singh Vice-regent and President of the Council of the Chiefs, as well as commander of the army ; and Dhian Singh was to remain as theretofore, the wazir, and Aziz-ud-Did was to be the counsellor of the State, as usual [24]

But the rivalries of the claimants continued brewing up, and soon a conspiracy developed to kill Sher Singh who seemed to have lost courage and slipped away to his estate of Batala, "Dhyan, however, promising to establish him on the throne at an opportune moment.[25]" On December 2, Chand Kaur was declared the Maharani (Regent) of the Punjab with the title of *Malika Makkadas*. A month latter Dhian Singh was also compelled to retire to Jammu, and Sindhanwala got complete control of the government.

But both the sovereign and her new ministers proved incompetent. Chand Kaur "regarded the supreme authority as a means of indulging her passions and vices.[26]" The Sindhanwala found the conduct of

22. Kushwant Singh, *A Hist. of the Sikhs*, II, 15.
23. *ORPS*, 150/39 of 11-11-1840, Clerk to Maddock.
24. *ORPS*, 150/48, of 24-11-1840, Clerk to Maddock.
25. M' Gregor, W.L , *The History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 7.
26. Anon., *History of the Punjab*, Allen and Co., Vol. II, p. 225.

administration quite different from the hatching of conspiracies. Consequently, confusion and disorder ensued on a scale as to compel both the chiefs and the army to invite Sher Singh and Dhian to take up the administration in their own hands and save the country from the developing disruption and the British Agent at Ludhiana had to report.

"The maee said if the Rajah (Dhyan Singh) went at such a time as this when Dost Muhammad was coming across and other British convoys marching to Peshawar, she will deport herself to Fattehghur. Bhaee Ram Singh said that he would return to the Benaras. Jamadar Khushal Singh said that he would go to his native place near Saharnpore. Sardar Uttar Singh said that he would return to the Ganges. And Fakeer Azeezood Deen begged them for God's sake to talk like reasonable beings."[27]

Dhian Singh's endeavours at a peaceful settlement had failed, resulting in lowering of the prestige of the rulers, and further intrigues and riots peeped at every crevice. Gulab Singh had anticipated the devlopment of what might prove harmfnl to the Dogra interests.

Lawlessness amounted. The Sikh soldiery were grown unruly and mutinous. The men over-ruled the officers, threatened them and somerimes forced them to resign. They set up small committees called Punchayats on the pattern of village councils in every unit from troops battery and company to brigade level to run the Khalsa in opposition to the officers.[28] Turbulence prevailed everywhere, Various were the elements of discord raging at Lahore in the absence of Dhian Singh. Chand Kaur's partisans, the Sindhanwalas proved worst intriguers but worthless diplomats. They miserably failed to uphold the power and control of the government over soldiery and other distressing elements. Ventura was forced to tell the Maharani that the Khalsa power would dissolve into nothing if Dhian Singh did not return, and the whole country would rise for plunder and that the British were close at hand at Ferozepore watching.[29] The English moblised troops towards Sutlej. Sir William Macnahghton even proposed "that the treaty of 1839 be unilaterly declared by the British to be null and void and Peshawar be added to the Durreni kingdom."[30] He also further suggested that the Punjab be split into two parts to be ruled by the predominant chiefs in each meaning Siudhanwalias in the plalns and Dogra Rajas in the hills.[31] The Sindhanwalas thus seemed to play the game for the British in creating dissenions at Lahore and thereby weakening the State.

27. *Ibid.*
28. Bruce, George, *Six Battles for Iudia*, p. 67.
29. *Ibid*, p. 69.
30. Macnaughton, to Governor General, Nov. 26, 1840, Governor General to Macnaughton, Dec. 28, 1840.
31. *Ibid.*

The second Dagra apprehension about the British interference, was coming out true. If the British authorities were reluctant to intervene in Punjab affairs on their own initiative, chiefs were not wanting in Lahore who sought. British Governor-General's support to uphold their claims on the Lahore government. Even Sher Singh was toying for British support and as Aukland wrote : "at my suggestion or perhaps without it he would write away half of the Punjab to the British Government to obtain its interference in his favour. Chand Kaur would do the same assuredly should the chiefs turn against her."[32] She had actually deputed Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia to Lndhiana "to sell his country",[33] and to seek British help on the terms that "they should make their own arrangments in the Punjab, that such a Ministry ahould make their own arrangments in the Punjab, that such a Ministry ahould please the *maee* as well as any other ; she would wish to have a resident with one or two battalions at Lahore to protect her rights."[34] Sher Singh was believed to have been in league with the British since Kharak Singh's accession.

The British, however, did not support Chand Kaur's lost cause, nor were Sher Singh's overtures forceful, for he apprehended "the army would be more exasperated and might destroy him in an hour" before the arrival of the British help. Dhian's loud protests in the Darbar may have also deterred the British from moving into the Punjab politics or else the claimants to throne would have been glad enough to be relieved of the half burden (which finally did happen in 1846) of the kingdom of the Khalsa but for Dhian Singh's adroitness and the anti-British policy of the Dogra Rajas who were prepared to counteract any such move and maintain the unity and liberty of Ranjit's kingdom. Gulab Singh was closely watching the developments of events at Lahore and Ludhiana and was making arrangements to intervene at the proper moment. Dhian singh stood for the integrity and sovereignty of the Lahore kingdom and made all possible endeavours to maintain its honour aud prestige "and to uphold the tottering Khalsa" at this crisis.[35] But when Sher Singh left Lahore on 2nd December, 1840, and a council of four chiefs, including Dhian Singh, was formed, and he found his position untenable, he got permission from Chand Kaur to leave for Jammu for a month and left Lahore on January, 1841. Gulab Singh and Hira Singh remained behind with the Mai, perhaps in accordance with a preconcerted plan.[36]

"As soon as the Raja Ji went to Jammu," writes Sohan Lal, "differences found their way into the pillars of kingdom and the sweet-heart of control aud administration of the countries and troops could

32. Auckland to Hobhouse, 7 Dec. 1840, fol. 419 ff.

33. *Ibid*

34. *ORPS*, 155/81 of 17-1-1841, Harsaran Das to Clerk.

35. Secret consult., For. Deptt., 116 of 7-12-1840.

36. Kanheyalal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, p. 338.

not be acquired."[37] Conseqnently Dhian Singh had to be immediately recalled. It was a triumph of Dhian's diplomatic skill and administrative ability. Rani Chand Kaur and her associates were to realize value of the Raja. At the same time Sindhanwalias and other councillors became sure they had no place in Lahore politics after the return of Dhian Singh. Chand Kaur also saw her cause despoiled. They, therefore, lost no time in sending their agent to seek British aid to maintain themselves in power.

Before leaving for Lahore, Dhian Siugh sent Sher Singh a communication that the time for his arrival at Lahore was favourable where the troops were ready to receive him. Immediately on receipt of this communication he appeared at Lahore on the 14th January, 1841 accompained by only 300 horsemen. But soon leading European officers like Ventura and Court, and generals and well to do Sikhs deserted to his side along with their men so that by the night of January 15, not less than 26,000 infantry, 8,000 horse and 45 guns had joined Sher Singh. These sudden developments alarmed the ruling party which immediately started preparations to meet situation as best as they could.[38]

Maharani Chand Kaur did not lose heart on Sher Singh's arrival. She appointed Gulab Singh as the Commander-in-Chiefs and charged him with the task of defending the city. Raja Gulab Singh and Hira Singh in concert with Chand Kaur, Sindhanwala Sardars, Jamandar Khaushal Singh and other chiefs of their party, prepared for the defence of the city and fort. But soon all other chiefs except Gulab Singh, became lukewarm to Chand Kaur's cause and left the fort. Gulab Singh decided to defend the Mai's cause to the last.

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37. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. IV, Pt. II. p. 9.

The Minister's departure announced to the whole world that the iron man whose vigilance had kept the evil forces under control was now no longer there. The awe inspired by his name which had so long held the kingdom intact, vanished. The centrifugal forces thus got released and had their free play. Disorder became rampant in all departments. The chiefs of the Council were resuming much of the authority which they had vested in Chand Kaur. Moreover, they acted with no concerned among themselves. (L.H. Griffin, *The Panjab chiefs*, 331). In consequence of such relaxation of authority, insecurity to trade and travellers increased. (151/6, *Clerk to Maddock* 9th January, 1841 *P.G.R.*) The troops grew refractory and the Commanders unwilling to obey orders soon a serious danger of commotion developedat the capitals. (L.H. Griffin, *The Panjab Chiefs*, p. 331)." Raja Dhian Singh's absence seems already to be regretted by all but some few Sardars who have not the sense to discem, or the patriotism to deplore, the ruin which in consequence is rapdily encompassing the Raj." (151/2, Clerk to Maddock, 17 January, 1841, *P G.R.*). "All this greatly alarmed Chand Kaur all her partisans who left convinced of their incapacity to govern. It was now well realised that the Raja was quite indispensable. Urgent messages were, therefore, repeatedly sent to him from the Rani and Bhai Ram Singh through Misr Lal Singh, Fateh Singh Mann and other entreating him to repair to Lahore without a moment's delay and engaging that all would obery him." (Muhammad Naqi, *Sher Singh Nama*, I, 14-b).

38. *ORPS*, 151/12 of 12-1-1841, Clerk to Maddock.

With the intention of eventually gaining the maximum benefit out of this situation, "the Dogra family now pretended to be divided among themselves. Raja Gulab Singh and his nephew Hira Singh espoused the cause of the queen, while Raja Dhian Singh declared for the party of Sher Singh, who assumed the title of Maharaja."[39]

Though on opposite sidas, the Dogras were not of them, but only adhered the better to bend them to their interests. Most authorities agree in attributing the different parts taken by them to some deeplaid scheme of subtle policy. On the other side Sher Singh had started a double game at Lahore. Fearing the influence of Dhian Singh, he wanted to win the throne without the aid of Dogra family. For this purpose he found an active and willing instrument in his *Mukhtiar*, Jewalla Singh. Thus while on the one hand Sher Singh was assuring Dhian Singh of his reliance on him alone, he had on the other hand "actually given Jewalla Singh a written promise that in case the Khalsa troops agreed to and succeed in the capture of Lahore and the ejection of Chand Kaur and her party, wihout the aid of Raja Dehan Singh, he (Jewalla Singh) should be appointed Wuzeer."[41] However, Gulab Singh was "too old a pupil in Ranjeet's school not to be able to see through the schemes of Jawalla Singh and duplicity of Sher Singh."[42] When on 13th January Sher Singh suddenly arrived in Lahore and the whole Sikh army had been won over to his side by bribes, Gulab Singh clearly saw that Sher Singh's success in this enterprise, independent of the aid of his family, would be a death blow to their hopes, he determined to oppose to the last any attack made by the prince, and not to listen to any terms till the arrival of his brother Dhian Singh on the scene of action.

As soon as Mai Chand Kaur and Gulab Singh shut themselves up in the citadel, the Khalsa troops surrounded the city. "The situation critical, writes Gulab Singh's artillery officer in the fort. "At the utmost our force did not exceed 3,000 men and against us probably not less than 1,50,000 men, with 200 pieces of artillery, encamped on the plain of Mian Mir."[43] But Gulab Singh adhered bravely to his determination to defend the Maharani to the last. During the night the defenders of the city gates were won over by Sher Singh and all gates were thrown open and by daylight Khalsa army marched in at the several gates of the city. Presently the fierce cries of some seventy thousand wild infantry, and perhaps fifty thousands still more savage followers, attracted by the scent of plunder, rent the air in loud acclamations. Gulab Singh concentrated his Dogra troops in the upper

39. Pearso, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 228.

40. Symth, G.C., *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 41.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

43. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 230.

fort and made requisite preparations for whatever might come.[44] Almost all other Sardars deserted[45] Gulab Singh's cause while the host advanced to the assault. The small and silent band on the walls of the fort calmly beheld the approach of the dense columns of infantry, the squadrons of cavalry, and more fearful than all, the enormous train of the Khalsa artillery. The entire circuit of the fort now presented a closely wedged mass of the men, forming close up to the very walls. The number of guns was so great that they formed as it were an entire and connected battery round the fort ; and yet others for want of room in the first line, had to take up positions in the rear. "The little fort was surrounded by sea of human heads."[46] In face of this thundering ocean of arms and artillery Gulab Singh's undaunted spirit of resistance was unswerving. "With the hour, as I must say," writes Alexander Gardner, "is even the case in critical period, came the man, and nothing could surpass the calmness, the forethought, the activity, and the mental resources of Gulab Singh.....His determination never failed him."[47] Gulab Singh made every preparation for the crisis that ingenuity could devise and for two days they were hard at work. A space in front of the gateway to the fort was cleared with much difficulty and twelve guns were placed so as to bear on the wooden portals at a distance of not more than thirty-five or forty yards in front of them. "The scene at this moment was of a strange and fearful character,——the dense mass of fierce men waving to and fro almost up to the walls of the fort like an angry sea beating against a rock."[48] Destruction stared Gulab Singh's small garison in the face—"We had red hot cannon-balls to blow ourselves and the whole city into air, if the worst came to worst", writes Alexander Gardner, commander of the garrison.[49] Arrangements for blowing up everything having been made, "On the morning of January 17, Sher Singh summoned Gulab Singh to surrender the Summan Burj. In reply the latter asked for a truce until Dhian Singh's return. But excited by the unlimited force at his command, enough to blow up his enemy at an instance, Sher Singh did not wait for the arrival of Dhian Singh and opened hostilities on the 17th January in the most spectacular manner.[50]

44. Smyth, G.C., *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 47. "Rumours of an intended outbreak had reached the ears of the Rani's party, and Gulab Singh occupied the summon burj or citadel of Lahore with his personal troops, about 3,000 men." Ibid.
45. The Chiefs in the fort with Chand Kaur were Attar Singh Sindhanwalia, Gulab Singh Hira Singh Dogra and Mangal Singh Gulab Singh tried to know the attitude of the Sikh Sardars. All swore heartily to be faithful Tej Singh being the most ferven in his protestations of loyalty. (Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 231.

Regarding the loyalty of the chiefs within the fort to Chand Kaur, Clerk observed that "her reliance on the cardinal assistance of any of these but the first (Attar Singh Sindhanwala) would be misplaced," 151/13, Clerk to Maddock January 18, 1841-P.G.R.
46. Anon. *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 227.
47. Pearse, Hugh, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
48. Smyth, G.C., *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 48.
49. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 293.
50. Smyth, G.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 48-51.

"The entire circle of guns———about two hundred and thirty pieces of artilllery——simultaneously opened a fire of blank cartidge. This was done probably in the expectation to terrifying the defenders of tne fort. Then the twelve guns pointed at the Hazoori Bagh gate were quietly loaded. The matches were lit and ready to hurl destruction on the feeble portals. Loud and savage voices were heard, fiercely demanding the opening of the gate. But the call was unheaded, immediately then the twelve guns were fired at once, and the old gate, with thirty-seven out of thirty-nine men placed inside to defend it, fell before the terrible discharge. The two guns loaded with grape were now all that opposed the entrance of the besiegers and there was left but one out of sixteen artiliery men to fire them."[51] Then with a wild yell some 300 Akalis swept up the Hazuri Bagh and crowded into the gate. They were packed as close as fish, and could hardly move over the heaps of wood and stone, the rubbish and the carts, with which the gateway was blocked. Just at the momcnt when the crowd was rushing their swords high in the air, Gardner, Gulab Singh's cavalry officer managed to fire the guns and literally blew them into the air. In the pause which followed he loaded the guns with the aid of three artillery-men who survived and their next discharge swept away the hosile artillerymen who were at the fourteen guns outside who had remained standing perfectly paralysed by the destruction of the Akalis. Then Sher Singh fled and grievous carnage commenced. The Dogras always excellent, marksmen, seemed that day not to miss a man from the walls. The whole of the artillerymen round the pieces in front of them strewd the ground. In the Hazuri Baga they counted the bodies of no less than 2,800 soldiers, 200 artillerymen and 180 horses." During the confusion Sher Singh escaped from the garden back to his former quarters in the barrack of Mewa Singh and he thought it prudent to keep himself out of harms way during the remainder of the siege.

Thus repulsed in their first attempts—the Khalsa opened a heavy and general fire from their artiliery all around the place at a distance of not more than sixty or a hundred yards. This fire was continued with such vigour that it threatened the destruction of the old walls. But under the well-directed fire of the garrison on the walls, the whole of the formidable line was silenced and deserted in an hour. The Dogra on the ramparts could now count no less than 146 guns with none but dead and wounded men, horses and bullocks around them and so completely cammanded by their fire that none dared to approch them. Only thirty-six guns of large calibre belonging to the division of Sultan Muhammad were the last to be silenced by the fire from the fort, the artilerymen having hit upon an ingenious but barbarous method of protecting themselves. They had seized many women of the city and bound them to the wheels. Out of gallantry to the sex the Dogra averted their fire. But compelled by the havoc created by the fire of these guns the Dogra very cautiously resumed fire. "The best proof, not only of their kind feeling but of their skill as marksmeu, is the fact that of a thousand or twelve hundred women who were thus barbarously exposed, only nineteen lost their

51. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, pp. 235-36.

lives, while not less than one hundred and eighty-six of the artillerymen were shot down at their guns."[52] Only under the cover of darkness could the Lahore army remove guns to the shelter of houses in the city but with heavy loss.

Thus for three successive days and nights was heavy and inceasant cannonade kept up by the Sikhs upon the place and returned by the garrison to the best of their power. On the evening of January 17 Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh reached the capital. Through Dhian Singh's mediation, hostilities terminated towards the noon of Tuesday, January 18.[53] The loss on the side of besiegers was 4786 men, 610 horses and 320 bullocks killed ; while the loss of the garrison did not in killed and wounded exceed 130 men.[54] Thus ended the memorable defence of the fortress of Lahore. The part played by Gulab Singh on this occasion marks him out as one of the cleverest tacticians at the Darbar. It greatly enhanced his reputation as military leader and afterwards his name always inspired awe in the minds of the otherwise turbulent and uncontrollable Sikh soldiery.[55] Moreover, Gulab Singh's diplomacy of maintaining the influence of his family supreme in the kingdom of Lahore had appreciably succeeded. Sher Singh could get throne only through their favour. Dhian Singh, therefore, was retained as Prime Minister of the kingdom.[56] They also extracted the maximum political benefit out of the exigency by getting an agreement from Maharaja Sher Singh on the 11th April, 1841, whereby he "confirmed in perpetuity to these respected persons (Jammu Rajas) and their descendants, all honour and Jagheers and other advantages conferred on them in the time of Sree Rajah Bahadur (Maharaja Ranjeet Singh)."[757] This document was decried by British authorities as virtual abdication of all powers by Maharaja Sher Singh.

At the close of hostilities, Gulab Singh opened negotiations and Rani Chand Kaur gave up her right to the throne in return for the conditions—first, the jagir of nine lakhs for the princess Khari Khariall ; second, Maharaja Sher Singh could not ask for the Rani's hand ; third, the Dogra garrison of the fort should be allowed to march ont unmolested and with flying colour. While evacuating the fort on the forenoon of January 19, Gulab Singh had not "lost the opportunity of securing about two millions of treasure in his honourable hands from the fort which spoil was securely conveyed to Jammu."[58] And now came

52. Smyth, G.C., *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 51.
53. *ORPS*, 151/16 dated January 21, 1841, Clerk to Maddock.
54. Smyth, G.C., *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 57.
55. Chopra, B.R. *Kingdom of the Puujab*, p. 127.
56. Griffin, L.H. *The Punjab Chiefs*, p. 336, rightly points out that "the fort was defended in the interest of Dhyan Singh and not of Chand Kaur is clear · rom Raja Hira Singh being present within it and one of its ableast defender being Sultan Muhammad Khan, devoted follower of the Raja (Dhian Sing)."
57. *ORPS*, 40-11/103, dated Aprll 23, 1841, Macheson to Clerk.
58. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 237.

a masterpiece of acting on the part of Gulab Singh," "writes Alexander Gardner, "He presented the Koh-i-nur with much embrassment to the reigning sovereign, and took great credit for saving the royal property. In rethrn he obtained a *firman* for twenty laks worth of villages west of Bhimbur and was recognised as guardian of the Maharani Chand Kaur."[59] Eventually when Chand Kaur was murdered a few months later by the orders of Sher Singh the jagir and property of the Rani was appropriated by Gulab Singh. Thus the "wily Ulysses" of Jammu secured to himself, as a result of bravery and diplomacy, objects of no small consideratlon. The combined force of all the Khalsa and their Maharaja could not defeat his diplomacy.

According to Sohan Lal, Gulab Singh and his Dogras evacuated the fort in the forenoon of January 19, 1841,[60] taking with him all the Darbar's hoard of gold and jewels kept at Lahore. It is alleged that Gulab Singh had "made immunity from search of himself and his men an absolute condition for surrender of the fort[61].

On January 21, Gulab Singh, with this wealth and whole of his force crossed the Ravi to Shahdara aud took up a strong position there. Soon after through Dhian's intercession he obtained leave of absence and marched to Jammu.

Maharaja Sher Singh's attempt at ousting Dogra influence from Sikh court miserably failed and he had to acknowledge his obligation to their junta in gaining the throne for him. He restored them all the privileges enjoyed in Ranjit's time, as well added more to their power, influence and dominion. But Sikh resentment at Gulab Singh's successful defence of Lahore fort leading to the murder of several thousand Sikh soldiers was played upon by anti-Dogra courtiers, and it grew keener with the occurrence of fresh events, and both Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh started substituting Rajputs and Mohammadans for the Sikhs. As Clerks reports, "Raja Gulab Singh has ejected every Sikh soldier from the many forces held in jagir or in farm by his family."[62]

The Sikhs had yet lively rememberance of his defence of Lahore in January 1841 wheh he was again called upon to show his prowess in directing his troops against the rebellious Sikh armies in Kashmir where on April 17,1841 the two Sikh battalions stationed in Kashmir killed the Governor Mihan Singh in his court and his son Sant Singh had taken shelter in Hari Parbat Fort. The Maharaja, though aware that order in that region could best be restored through the agency of the Jammu Rajas and their hill-men, did not like to entrust the sole charge of the

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-38.

60. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 15.
Smyth, G.C., (*A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 60) says that Gulab Singh evacuated the fort at the mid-night of January 18 which is obviously wrong.

61. Secret Consultations, For. Deptt. 88 of 8-2-1841.

62. *ORPS*, 151/34 of 3-3-1841, Clerk to Maddock.

affair to Gulab Singh. Hc, therefore, put his son Kanwar Partap Singh, attended by Bhai Gurmukh Singh, to the Government of Kashmir and to be assisted by Sheikh Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din, in the fiscal affairs. The rebel soldiers of Kashmir were alarmed to know of Gulab Singh's deputation for suppression of Kashmir rebellion. They made prompt overtures to the Raja, who was still at Jammu to renounce their rebellion if admitted to certain privileges of increased and prompt pay such as the troops at Lahore had obtained.[63] Presumably, the Raja had no such mandate and the whole cavalcade moved into the valley.

Gulab Singh seemed to have taken to pacific steps to settle the issue. But the mutineers refused to deliver up their arms on being summoned to surrender, and though Raja Gulab Singh condescended to negotiate with them for some time, it was to no purpose.[64] On the other hand the rebels tooks to treachery, sent to wait on Raja Gulab Singh explicitly to make further propositions for their surrender, and by deceitful representations induced him to mount his elephant, and proceed towards their entrenchments where a band of fifty suddenly rushed out upon him swords in hand, and attacked his escort of five hundred men with such desperate fury that the Raja had ro seek safety in a precipitate flight to his own camp.[65] Enraged at this treachery and its effect, Gulab Singh ordered an instant attack by the whole force, which was already drawn up on the other bank of the Dudh Ganga stream, opposite the rebel entrenchments. The rebels put up a stiff resistance and some of Sikh commanders represented to the Maharaja against Gulab Singh's strong measures. The troops at Lahore were also inclined to send reinforcemenrs to support their comrades in Kashmir against Gulab Singh. This situation whipped Gulab Singh to take recourse to vigorous measures, and the mutinous regiments were overpowered by numbers and punished with severiiy[66] and destroyed the rebels almost to a man. After the conclusion of this expedition by the end of August and the restoration of order in the valley, Gulab Singh had to leave for Lahore along with Partap Singh, Sant Slngh and his task force. But before he left he made it sure that Sheikh Ghulem Muhi-ud-Din had entrenched himself strongly as governor of Kashmir, and it was soon apparent that Gulab Singh had made the governor, whom he was aiding, a creature of his own and had become the virtual master of the valley.[67]

Gulab Singh had once again proved himself faithful to the profession of a soldier and adequately shown his love for law and order. But once again his success recoiled on him and his brother Dhian Singh. His operations in Kashmir caused much murmur among the men at Lahore, who said that "he slaughtered the Khalsa as if they had been

63. *ORPS*, 151/69 of 10-6-1841, pp. 230-34, Clerk to Maddock.
64. Smyth, G.C. *A Hist. of Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 194.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
66. *Cunningham's History of the Sikhs*, p. 221.
67. *Ibid*, *ORPS*, 152/40 of 3-9-1841, Clerk to Government.

Afghans."[68] The Sikh army which was traditionally fickle, became progressively estranged with the Dogra Rajas As Mr. Clerk pointed out there was "a rise of national spirit in the Khalsa" which implied the army had fallen victim to communal sentiments. directed equally against the European officers as well as Dogras. The anti-Dogra British agents had imperceptively manipulated this sentiment in a way to channellise it against Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh. Dhian Singh succeeded to some extent to reestablish his influence and continued to be popular with the troops. The army was, however, well disposed towards the Minister on the whole; "for men felt that he is a mastermind, and that they always be treated by him as soldiers for his own sake."[69]

Maharaja Sher Singh and Dhian Singh now appeared to be perfectly reconciled. But indications were not wanting that real cordiality had ceased. The Maharaja seemed keen upon humillating the Wazir and his family. In an unguarded moment he threw out hints that he designed to call Raja Gulab Singh to his Darbar to render an account of his proceedings.[70] Bhai Gurmukh Singh, who had of late acquired the greatest voice in Sher Singh's councils, was trying to organise and infuse vigour into the coalition against the Jammu Raja. He had the blessings of Sher Singh in this affair. Dhian Singh had fully sm lt that Maharaja Sher Singh was attempting to free himself from his domination.[71] He retaliated by engineering the arrival at Lahore in August 1842 of Rani Jindan, one of Ranjit Singh's wives and her son, Dalip Singh, a four or five years old boy reputed to be another son of the great Maharaja. The result was a mounting disbelief of each other which drove Sher Singh under the influence of a double dealing priest, named Bhai Gurmukh Singh. Sher Singh also moved to make peace with Sindhanwalas in the hope of using them "as some counterpoise to the Rajas of Jammu."[72] The stage was set for his reconciliation with the Sindhanwalas by the anti Dogra British Agent, Mr. G.R. Clerk, who despite their intransigence, was trying to bring about a reconciliation. Efforts were made to replace Dhian or at least reduce his authority by inviting Ventura, Diwan Kirpa Ram and Attar Singh Sindhanwala to the Darbar. The Sindhanwalas, in their minds, regarded both Sher Singh and Dhian Singh as their enemies, though outwardly they kept up a show of cordial friendship towards both and thereby induced both to attempt to win their favour.[73] They were not reconciled to Sher Singh's exaltation to the throne which they consideted to be their own right. Their main target was the removal of Sher Singh, but they realised the difficulty of doing away with Sher Singh as long as he

68. *ORPS*, 152/40 ef 3-9-1841, Clerk to Maddock.
69. *ORPS*, 158-II/102 of 5-9-1843, Richmond to Thomason,
70. Anon., *History of the Punjab*. Allen and Co., Vol. II, p. 270; ORPS, 158-II/102 of 5-9-1843, Richmond to Thomason.
71. Satinder Singh, Bawa, *Jammu Fox*, p. 54.
72. Cunningham, J.D., *History of the Sikhs*, pp 269-70,
73. Chishti, Nur Ahmed, *Tahqiqat Chishti*, pp. 517-18.

enjoyed Dhian Singh's support.[74] A conspiracy was therefore hatched to assassinate Dhian Singh which however failed, as this plan leaked through one of the palace attendants who had been privy to it and who disclosed it to Dhian Singh.

Dhian Singh now felt extremely dejected and dismayed and began "to keep aloof and stand aside from the governmental control and administration,"[75] Dr. Bawa Satinder Singh. the latest biographer of Gulab Singh, states that Dogra relations with the Maharaj finally reached the breaking point and Dhian Singh with the approval of his elder brother[76] conspired to assassinate Sher Singh. But the Wazir was determined not to commit the crime himself. Instead he goaded the Sindhanwalas into killing the Maharaja by convincing them that they had been inveigled to Lahore for their more assured destruction.[77] The fault, however, does not lie at the door of the Dogras alone as events narrated above show. Sher Singh perhaps contributed more towards the formation of conspiracy which, strangely enough, had both himself aud his Wazir as its victims. According to M'Gregor—a contemporary writer—the Sindhanwalas prepared an order on the Maharaja's part to put the Minister to death and obtained his signatures to it, while he was under the influence of liquor. Later by showing this document to Dhian Singh, they roused his fury and obtained his signature to a similar document directing Sher Singh's murder. "Thus," remarks M'Gregor, "by the cunning of the Sindianwalas the Maharaja and his Minister were made the unconscious murderers of each other."

In short, the stage was set for the Sindhanwalas to work their foul play. On the 15th September, 1843, they treacherously murdered not only Sher Singh but also his son, Partap Singh. The same day they occupied the Lahore fort. Later on they even managed to outwit the unsuspecting Dhian Singh by inviting him to the fort, where he, too was slain.

Immediately after this Ajit Singh declared himseif the Wazir and designated Dalip Singh the next Maharaja.[79] Thus in the course of a few hou s, were the Maharaja, his son and Minister slaughtered by the Sindhanwalas.[80] The manner of Dhian Singh's assassination might not have been premeditated but was suddenly determined upon and carried into effect.[81] after Ajit Sidgh was elated with his first success and had

74. M' Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, pp. 13-14,
75. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. IV, pp. 26-27.
76. *ORPS*, Vol. 159 No. 25 of 24-2-1844, Richmond to Currie.
77. Cunningham, J.D., *op. cit.*, p. 270.
78. M'Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, pp. 13-15.
79. *Ibid*, p. 18.
80. ORPS, 48/62 of 20-9-1843 states that "after the murder of Raja Dhian Singh, Ajit Singh Sindhanwala attempted to murder Dalip Singh as well, but he was saved by the Goorkha Regiment quartered in the fort."
81. ORPS, 158-II/115, 19-9-1843, Richmond to Thomason.

consulted witn Gurmukh Singh.[82] The triple murder was, however, soon avenged by the youthful son of the assassinated Wazir with the help of the Khalsa who were infuriated at the simultaneous murder of their Maharaja and the Wazir.

Next to Ranjit Singh, Dhian Singh stands out as the most sagacious and capable man of the Punjab during this period. He was "mild in his deportment, affable and magnanimous.[83] Up till almost to the end of his life, he maintained his grasp over the civil and military affairs of the state in spite of the rapid decay that was working into the Sikh body politic. "Notwithstanding his faults, and a *steady*, but dignified, insolence of demeanour, he was one of the best men and the finest fellow in the Punjab which is not, however, saying much for him.[84]

"The abrupt death of Dhian Singh ended the remarkable partnership of the two elder Jammu brothers through which they had jointly controlled the political scene in the Sikh kingdom for over four years. Gulab Singh was naturally apprehensive about what this latest development at Lahore would do to his aspirations. But since the *wazarat* passed to a member of his own clan, the Jammu chief was somewhat relieved to find that the Dogra domination at the Sikh capital had not fully vanished with his brother's demise. He could look forward to the futre with a degree of confidence. It damped aspirations of the Jammu Chief. Yet he recovered from the loss quite rapidly. With a weakened Sikh govenment at Lahore Gulab Singh moved swiftly from autonomy toward complete independence. He continued to formulate his underhand politics with skill and determination. But he executed them somewhat more cautiously now that his influential brother was dead.[85]

The years after the murder of Dhian Singh were very crucial for Gulab Singh and his Jammu Raj. These were the most critical of his life as well as the most spectacular so far as the success of his diplomacy was concerned. But these marked him out as the most remarkable man who occupied the stage in post-Ranjit Singh period. In diplomatic craft and finesse he had no equal.[86] Endowed as he was with remarkable foresight and astuteness, he gave proof of combining in him "some of the rarest political virtues possessed by the two most notable contemporaries in Europe Cavour and Bismarek. Some of his actions were

82. ORPS, 158-II/113 of 18-9-1843, Richmond to Thomason. On the complicity of Bhai Gurmukh Singh in the assassination of Raja Dhian Singh, "History of the Punjab' (Allen and Co., p. 27) writes "This deed was prompted by the Bhaee Goormukh Singh. This man bore a secret enmity to Dhian Singh, and when the assassin Ajeat told him he had killed the prince, declared that his life was not safe abhour unless he destroyed the minister M'Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, pp. 16-17, also supports this view.
83. M' Gregor, W L., The History of the Sikhs, Vol. I, p. 242.
84. Vigne, G.P , *A Personal narrative of a visit to Ghazni, Afghanistan, etc.* p. 230.
85. Satinder Singh, Bawa, *Jammu Fox*, pp. 55-56.
86. *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, Part III, p. 63.

unfathomable, others not clearly intelligible to his contemporaries; but all of them were calculated to minister to the one towering trait of his character, ambition."[87]

All through these years he had acted generally as a solid prop for the strength of his family, and did the job of wire-pulling to perfection. Though at times a string or two might have slipped off his fingers, but these did not swing much beyond his prompt grasp, and his dexterous complascency persisted with certainty to play the events to his anticipated con·equencess. The sagacious Dhian Singh recognised this diplomatic genius of his elder brother and always reposed faith in the efficiency in critical times. But after Dhian's death his bro.her and nephew failed to understand his subtle system which secured not only the eminence of the Dogra family but also assured safety and security of its members. His over ambitious youngest brother, Suchet Singh, and his raw young nephew, Hira Singh, were not shrewd enough to comprehend the unpreditcable Lahore politics. The condition was aggravated by the overboaring and offending tutelage of Hira Singh's adviser and preceptor, Pt. Jalla. This landed them all in perilous situation, out of which only Gulab Singh could extricate himself. The follies of his relatives combined with the rivalry of courtiers and the hostility of mutinous soldiery ill-disposed towards him, created for him such perils which only a rare genius survives.

Things have started favourably for the Dogras after the twin murder of Maharaja Sher Singh and his minister Raja Dhian Singh, on the 15th September, 1843. On hearing of these ghastly events, Suchet Singh became despondent. But the Young Raja Hira Singh rose to the occasion. He worked up the troops with a fiery oration. "The sword has this day." uttered the youthful Raja to the bewildered soldiery, "deprived my father of life. I am left alone and fatherless and I now throw myself on you ; either kill me or give me your support.[88] The appeal ignited the imagination of gullible soldiery who exclaimed with one voice "that they would not taste food until they had taken the heads of the Sundhanwaleas."[89]

The tumultous soldiery rose to a man, and under the leadership of Hira Singh stormed the fort in the evening the same day, and under the first impulse of anger and surprise about forty thousand men were clinging and clustering about the breaches, "like bees at the entrance of their hives. "By next day the fort was taken and Sindhanwalia Chiefs Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh and many of their followers and relatives were hacked to pieces.

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87. Gupta, H.R. *Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*, 1844, p. Lxxxi.
88. Smyth, G.C. *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp. 78-80, Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, Pt. III, p. 31.
89. *P.G.R.*, 163/68, of 25 9-1843, Maharaja Dalip Singh to Richmond ; W.L. M' Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 18.

Only the eldest, Attar Singh managed to escape to the other side of the Sutlej. The bereaved son had thus avenged himself ruthlessly on the regicides, though "In a night, all the bazaars and streets were sacked by the licentious soldiery ...and whole place echoed with wails and moaning."[90] Next day. September 17, boy Dalip Singh was declared Maharaja and Hira Singh his Minister. His triumph was complete and he "was the absolute ruler of the Punjab.[91] But ruling in Lahore was not an easy ride. The convulsions which had brought Hira Singh to surface of power, had put out of gear all the machinery of the government, whilst the army, upon which he was constrained to depend was an unruly and insatiable monster. Lawlessness and panic peeped everywhere. The sack of Lahore and Amritsar was threatened. The army being without a controlling authority was inclined to dictate its terms, and so long as this continued, there could be no continued secruity. There was also the apprehension of a collision between the Sikh troops and the Jamuu Rajas or a complete disruption of the army. Only Raja Gulab Singh's constant support to Hira Singh could save his position and restore order and discipline in the soldiery. The growing difference among the Dogra Rajas however, made such chances remote.

B. Cracks in the Dogra Front

Yet there was another danger lurking in some corner for the Dogra family itself, and it was the ghost of disunity amongst the memoers and their conflicting ambitions, which were soon to make their appearance and give Gulab Singh some nightmares before he could exorcise the evil spirit which however wrought much havoc in the portals of the Dogra Rajas. The sharp end of the wedge of disurity was first driven by Raja Suchet Singh or 'Malek Adhel', as he was named by the ladies of Sir Henry Fane's Camp[92]. He was Hira Singh's uncle, a bold and gallant looking young man of about 42 years, a perfect soldier in appearance. To his handsome figure and engaging manner, he added all the advantage of dress and ornament. He was much the man to gain the hearts of a rude soldiery, and in reality he was popular leader.[93] This perhaps had generated in him a vain ambition and he seemed not unwilling to separate himself from his brother and nephew and to coalesce with Sikh chiefs in the hope perhaps of forming a joint Wazirship with the Majithias.[94] Besides the pranks of ambition, he was also dissatisfied with the proceeding of his nephew and his advisers, more especially the Brahmin Misr Jalla and a Muhammedan Sheikh Imamuddin who had no eapacity for affairs.[95] Under Jalla's evil

90. Mohammad Naqi, *Sher Singh Nama*, folios 74b and 78a.
91. Allen and Co., *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 286.
92. Osbarne, *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, p. 25.
93. Lawrence, H.M.L. *Adventures*, p. 173.
94. *P.G.R.* 158/142 of 16-10-1843 and 158/158 of 1-11-1843, Richmond to Thomason". Raja Souchet Singh had always been on terms of amity with many of the Sikh chiefs than either of his more able brothers." (159/52 of 8-4-1844, Richmond to Currie.

influence, Hira Singh ceased to show due regard to the sentiments of Suchet Singh who felt grieved in his mind, and cherished a dislike of him on that account.[96] Though Suchet Singh's capacity was inferior to his ambition and his almost total loss of speech prevented his taking an active part in the administration, yet he did not abstain from court intrigues. The growing coolness between the uncle and the nephew was posing a big challenge to the Dogra family and it appeared that without Gulab Singh's interference the calamity unleashed on 15th September would not be averted.

It was the knowledge of these developments which forced Gulab Singh to leave reluctantly for Lahore. His appearance had long been expected, but he seems to have been tarrying and recockoning the hazardsof adventnring among the partly disrupted soldiery at Lahore. He reached Lahore on 10th November and found Suchet Singh intriguing with Jawhair Singh, brother of Rani Jindan, against Hira Singh. Suchet Singh had been approached by Jawahir Singh alongwith some of the chieftains with the complaints that Raja Suchet Singh was more deserving for the office of the ministry. But Gulab Singh made him understand the interests of the family and brought him round to his point of view. Suchet Singh, therefore, gave np Jawahir Singh's company and comradeship. But Jawahir Singh persisted in his designs and his threat to carry away Maharaja Dalip Singh to the British protection at Ludhiana and his subsequent imprisonment by Hira Singh worsened situation and an open rupture seemed imminent between Hira Singh and Jawahir Singh's sympathiser Suchet Singh. Gulab Singh's efforts to dissociate his brother from anti-Hira Singh junta achieved only a qualified success and he could only induce him to accompany him to Jammu. Both brothers left Lahore on 4th December, on the pretence of bathing during the approaching eclipe in a sacred well there.

For some time Gulab Singh was successful in maintaining the semblance of unity in his family. After the removal of Suchet Singh from Lahore Hira Singh transfered more faith in his sagacious uncle. In the beginning he invariably used to consult and seek the advice of Raja Gulab Singh in all the important matters of the state. In fact he would send him not often, the original file of papers to help him to form a correct judgement.[98] This was done even publicly and his advice was awaited anxiously by the concerned.[99]

Hira Singh was also favourably disposed towards Gulab Singh's pretensions for extension of his dominion and influence. The latter set up on a career of expansion by acquiring all the properties and estates of his brother Raja Dhian Singh. Next came his successful persuasion

95. *Ibid.*
96. Allen and Co., *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 290.
97. Gupta, H.R., *Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*, p. Lxxx.
98. *Ibid.*, p. Lxxxi.
99. *Panjab Newsletter No 98*, dated 22-1-1844-NAI.

of Suchet Singh who was childless, to adopt his youngest son Mian Ranblr Singh as hls heir to all his territory and property[100]. After the death of Suchet Singh in Mareh 1844 Gulab Singh put Ranbir Singh in charge of Suchet Singh's possessions. Gulab Singh also got the grants of Hazara and Khattur and the administration of the Kashmir valley. He had desired this country in farm. He even wished to have the river Ravee regarded as the boundary of his Jagir and possession[101]. Hira Singh would have easily yielded to Gulab Singh's exactions, but for Pandit Jalla and the Sikh army who were hostile to his designs. If this scheme had materialised, then, "finding a suitable opportunity later on Raja Gulab Singh would have become the absolule master of the Sikh Empire.[102]

However, Gnlab Singh's ambition for graspting all the territory he wanted and Hira Singh's efforts at strenghening his position as prime minister of Lahore came against rock on Sialkot issue. Kanwars Kashmira Singh, and Peshora Singh, two reputed or adopted sons of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, had received as their patrimony from their father Sialkot and Kurianwala, a fort near Sialkot to the west of Chenab, respectively.

The Jammu Rajas had always been averse to those youngmen. Gulab Singh was aware of the wishes if not of the proposals of the Kanwars to the British Agent, and he considered that he could safely make use of their leanings towards the British to get rid of them and to posses himself of flourishing town in the neighbour-hood of his hilly possessions. That Gulab Singh had designes on Sialkot, the flourishing town of the Punjab near Jammu, if not of the removal of the princes from the wuy of the Dogra ascendancy in the end, was certain.[103] He, therefore, accused the princes of complicity in the recent Sindhawalia conspiracy which had resulted in the deaths of Sher Singh and Dhian Singh.[104] A forged letter was produced which established the charge prima facie, and the evidence of Kapur Singh a hitherto trusted servant of Kashmira Singh, was enough for the authorities at Lahore to authorise Gulab Singh to seize the persons and property of both the brothers. Gulab Singh thereupon, sent on 9 January 1844, his troops to Sialkot who seized all the property of the "accused" and compelled the Kanwars to go to Jammu to settle matters with him and they professed innocence, and on the surety of Baba Mehtab Singh were conseqnently allowed to return to their jagirs[105] after they had submitted and signed a formal

100. G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp. 101-102.
101. *Panjab Intelligence*, dated 26-8-1844 NAI.
102. H.R. Gupta, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*, p. lxxxiii.
103. *P.G.R.* 159/41 of 23-3-1344, Richmond to Currie.
104. H.R. Gupta, *Panjab on the Eve of First Stkh War*, p. lii.
105. *P.G.R.*, 159/41 of 23-3-1844, Richmond to Currie ; G.C. Smyth, *4 Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 103.

paper of adhesion to the existing Government[106] and to show clemency to Kapur Singh. Prince Kashmira Singh ignored his promise and a few weeks later had Kapur Singh flogged to death. This provided Hira Singh with an excuse for further proceedings against the Prince, who was ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 25,000 for the murder which he declined to pay declaring that "Gulab Singh had taken away all he possessed save his life.[107]

Now a serious action against the Princes became necessary. Gulab Singh sent a small force to reduce the place which was joined by a detachment from Lahore and fighting took place at Sialkot.[108] The Princes, seeing no other way out for themselves, strengthened their garrisons at Sialkot and Kuryanwala. The Najib, a Muslim Battalion and the Sikh army showed reluctance to fight against the princes. However, Raja Gulab Singh led to the final assault with the aid of the late Dhian Singh's Dogra battalions and the princes had to surrender and evacuated the fort. The two brothers now made their way to join Suchet Singh who had been helping them in their designs.

Thus the troubles which had been brewing up for Gulab Singh since January 1844, had aggravated by the middle of March. All his efforts to ease them proved futile. He had tried to dissuade Suchet Singh from becoming Hira Singh's rival in holding Prime Minister's office. He had also sought to pave the way for Hira Singh's smooth occupation of the Wazarat of Lahore and to that effect he had co-operated with him in exterminating his rivals and enemies. But by the middle of March dense clouds of adversity had gathered on the firmament of his career. The main reason for this was the conflicting interests of the three Dogra Rajas, aggravated by the growing anti-Dogra propaganda of the Lahore courtiers, Pandit Jalla had special role to play in sharpening the family feud on the one hand and in widening the gulf between Hira Singh and the Sikhs on the other. Gulab Singh could not harness the storm though he cleverly survived its fury by bending before it rebounding against his enemies when he had somewhat recovered from the revages caused by this political whirlwind.

The Pindora's box for the Dogras was unlid by the events of Sialkot affair. The harassment of Kashmira Singh and Peshaura Singh for three months roused the Khalsa against the Dogras. This affair had further estranged Suchet Singh from the brother and nephew and Kanwar Kashmira Singh had been seized by Gulab Singh and imprisoned at Jammu, it was reported "that Suchet Singh was very displeased in consequence"[109] and had remonstrated with the Raja on

106. Kanheya Lal, *Ranjitnama*, p. 400.
107. *Punjab Intelligeuce*, dated 2-3-1844, NAI.
108. *P.G.R.*, of 159/41 of 23-3-1844, Richmond to Currie.
109. *Puujab Intelligence*, dated 11-1-1844-NAI.

that subject, and also on the subject of Raja Hira Singh's proceedings at Lahore.[110]

There existed acute differences between Suchet Singh ahd Hira Singh's adviser, Pt. Jalla also. The latter left no stone unturned to widen the gulf between the uncle and the nephew.[111] Suchet Singh instigated Fateh Khan Tiwana[112] as well as Sardar Jawahir Singh. He was suspected of complicity in Kashmira Singh's insurrection.[113] It was believed that the troops at Lahore were mutinying against Hira Singh at his instigation, and that to a certain extent he was responsible for the release of Jawahir Singh.[114]

Hira Singh was unanimous with Gulab Singh on the desirability of resolving the family feud. He, therefore, tried to patch up with Suchet Singh and on 31 December, 1843 offered him the governorship of Rawalpindi and Peshawar.[115] Any reconciliation was, however, impossible in the circumstances. Suchet Singh knew that Pt. Jalla "was at the bottom of estrangement between himself and his nephew.[116] He, therefore, showed willingness to join the Sikh chiefs in opposition to Hira Singh and Jalla,[117] and was anxious to return to Lahore and spurned at the proposal. He, therefore, got ready to leave for Lahore early in Mareh 1844, to bring Jalla to account. He received an invitation from Rani Jindan who "bade him aspire to the Wuzaarut which she promised to bestow upon him."[118] and from her brother Jawahir Singh and some troops and officers who sent delegates to fetch him. Gulab Singh tried to dissuade Suchet Singh from going to Lahore. But the latter was bent upon reaching there to chastise or uproot the Prime Minister and his adviser. Finally, he took leave of his brother on the pretext of going to Samba for a big *shikar* and suddenly appeared at Lahore on 26 March 1844 and halted at Shahdara. On Suchet Singh's sending a word, Hira Singh who had no ill-will against his uncle, immediately got ready to go to meet him. This greatly perturbed Jalla who convinced him that he would be murdered and in support of his prediction he "produced a *pothi* or horoscope in which it was written that Suchet Singh or Hira Singh would fall the next day.[119]

110. *Ibid.*, dated 13-1-1844-NAI.
111. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, pp. 253-54.
112. Kanheya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, p. 399.
113. *P.G.R.* 159/41 of 23-3-1844.
114. *Cunningham's Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 275.
115. *P.G.R.* 158/162 of 16-11-1843, Richmond to Currie.
116. Pearse, Hugh, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
117. "Raja Sochet Singh they say is ready to join them" *Punjab Intelligence*, dated 5th January, 1844, NAI.
118. Smyth, *Reigning Family*, p. 99.
119. Pearse, Hugh *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, pp. 254-55 ; Kanheya Lal *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 406.

Raja Suchet Singh, however, failed, to win over the troops "partly because Hira Singh had been liberal in gifts and promises and partly because the shrewed deputies who formed the *Panchayats* of the regiments, had a sense of their own importance and were not to be won for purposes of mere faction without diligent and judicious seeking."[120] He was, therefore, advised by the Khalsa to go home but Dogra adventurer seemed to have burnt his boats. He took up positions in a ruined mosque and determined to fight it out with his forty devoted comrades. On the morning on March 27, Hira Singh with a large army marched against his uncle.[151] A picked body of horse had been posted on the bank of the Ravi to prevent desertion from Lahore to Suchet Singh's assistance, and a force of about, 20,000 men with fifty light guns was dispatched. Suchet Singh and his forty companions, including Rai Kesari Singh, emerged to face the army.

On being backoned by Suchet Singh "to come on, one by one and let the world see the worth of a Rajput"[122] the small hand fell upon their adversaries with great force and after performing prodigies of valour they all perished, but had killed 150 and wounded another 200 before they fell Rai Kesri Singh and Diwan Bhim Sen were also killed along with ninety followers. Wrote Richmond, "the Jammu chiefs were embarking upon the game of their enemies. The party was sure to lose by the death of Suchet Singh whose manner caused him to well thought of by the troops generally."[123] The animosity of the Khalsa troops was aroused by this recent incident. Suchet Singh's death weakened the Dogra party and widened an unabridgable gulf between Gulab Singh and Hira Singh.

The ultimate effects of this murder were positively harmful to the Interests of the Jammu family. Hira Singh himself dreaded the pernicious results of this impolitic act, for the deceased's widow and numerous friends and adherents were loud in their cries for revenge.[124] Differences also arose between Hira Singh and Gulab Singh,[125] which proved disastrous for the both. It estranged the Raja of Jammu from his nephew and the court of Lahore. Hira Singh's position became badly undermined as be lost Gulab Singh's snpport at the juncture when his rivals and enemies were about to cornor him from all sides and planned destruction both of the Minister and his adviser, Pandit Jalla, who had become special object of hatred for the Lahore courtiers and the Khalsa solidiery. The talk

120. *Cunningham's Hist. of the Sikhs*, 1897, p. 375.
121. *P.G.R.*, 159/43 of 29-3-1844, Richmond to Currie.
122. Sita Ram Kohli, *The Sunset of the Sikh empire*, p. 75 ; 159/43 of 29-3-1844 Richmon to Currie-NAI; Steinbach, *The Punjab* 37 ; *Tahqiqat Chtsti* 407-8 Kahn Sin h, *Twarikhi-Rajgan-e-Jammu-o-Kashmir*, 162-4 ; Kanheya Lal *Tarikh-e-Panjab* pp. 400-02.
123. *P.G.R.*, 159/43 of 29-3-1844, Richmond to Currie.
124. M'Gregor, W.L., *The History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II., p. 27.
125. *ORPS*, 159/63 of 29-4-1844, Richmond to Currie.

among the soldiery was "that Raja Heera Singh has done most wrong in killing his uncle and Rai Kesree Singh and these Jammo Rajas, they say, are in reality an annoyance to everyone and they must be got rid of."[126] Thus the event antagonised the soldiery and the court to the Dogras and soon it led to the destruction of Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla and the invasion of Jammu by the Sikhs.

C. JALLA-HIRA SINGH MOVES AGAINST JAMMU

Jalla was the most energetic and grasping courtier at the Lahore Darbar. He was a Brabmin of the Jammu hills and was one of the four brothers whose family had been the household priests of Jammu Rajas. Owing to their ability and position they gained a certain amount of influence with Raja Guiab Singh.[127] Pt. Jalla was appointed tutor and guardian of young Hira Singh[128] during the most Impressionable part of age with the result that he continued wielding irresisistible influence on him afterwards. This Pandit, a man of most repulsive cast of countence and of a most tyrannical and ambitious spirit,"[128a] a man as senseless and stupid as he was mean and selfish,[129] kept Hira Singh in an abject bondage so that the latter would not act without a trifiling sign "or some such sufficient guiding token from his mysterious jailor, his familiar spirit, his preceptor, master ; father and brother, inferior and superior—Pandit Jalla."[130] The Pandit was so sharp and shrewed that by astrollogical observations and false predictions, by imputing motives to various persons and parties, by appealing to the Rajput instinct of Hira Singh, by demanding respect and reverence due to him as the Brahmin priest of the family and teacher and preceptor of his chief, and by reminding him of the example of Chandergupta Maurya in submitting to his Brahmin Minister Chanakya, he would secure Hira Singh's approval to all his schemes and plans.[131]

His insolent behaviour with the boy king Dalip Singh of Lahore and his mother, and his unwanted interference in administration had given offence to all the officers of the Lahore court and they all wanted to get rid of him. The Dogra party, including Gulab Singh, Mians Labh Singh and Prithi Singh and other Mians of Jammu were of the opinion that so long as Pt. Jalla llved and had the direction of affairs there could be no peace or safety.[132]

126. *Panjab Intelligence*, of 28-3-1844-NAI.
127. *P.G.R.*, 160/25 of 13-8-1844, Richmond to Currie.
128. Smyth G.C., *Reigning Family*, p. 26.
128.a Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 250.
129. Kohli, Sita Ram, in Introduction to *Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*, p. xvi.
130. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*. p. 251.
131. Gupta, H.R., *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*, p. xlvii.
132. *Ibid.*, dated 16-9-1844 and 18-10-1844-NAI.

Jalla was thus hated by all, and the Sikh army as well as Gulab Singh tried their utmost to secure the Pandit's dismissal or even transfer. On such representation Hira Singh is said to have replied that "he would never forsake Pt. Jalla and whatever he had was all the Pandit's by whose advise he would be guided in all things."[133] Jalla's action, however, continued to cause the greatest dissatisfaction in the army, and intrigues were speedily afoot, having for their object Pandit Jalla's downfall and death.

Jalla was a strong opponent of Raja Gulab Singh's ascendancy and power, and this rivalry between the two giants ended in the success of the shrewed diplomat against the clever intriguer. Jalla was the only person who could match and according to some even could excel[134] Gulab Singh at this game. Hence there was a natural hostility between the two. Jalla wanted to destroy Gulab Singh and "wished to deprive him of Jammu." Though this diplomatic battle was fought in the name of Hira Singh, but Nicholson reported "the real quarrel was between Pandit Jalla and Gulab Singh "[135]

The design of the Pandit Jalla seems to have been to destroy Raja Gulab Singh by directing the Sikh Army against Jammu and afterwards destroy other rivals by similarly gratifying the love of plunder and excitement natural to a body of soldiers. To reduce authority of Gulab Singh and keep the attention of his young master engaged, he urged him to make demands with regard to Suchet Singh's possessions, which Jalla knew that Gulab Singh would not comply. He would also have found it convenient to give a new direction to the attention of the soldiery which might have been pleased with the idea of "avenging themselves on the harsh and oppressive Raja Gulab Singh[136]. The Khalsa, however, were not willing to be involved in the dispute. They said that Raja Gulab Singh and Hira Singh had disputed regarding their private business and that therefore the Khalsa should not assist either party, although Jalla tried to convince them of the official nature of the dispute by pointing out that Gulab Singh was asked to agree to the following terms of submission to the Khalsa themselves 1st that the Estates of the late Raja Suchet Singh should be annexed to the Khalsa; 2nd that Raja Gulab Singh should remit to the Darbar the arrears of the farms held by him as others had done ; 4th that Raja Gulab Singh should attend Darbar and perform such services as should be ordered like other chiefs of the State.[137] Jalla's attempt at 'nationalising' this

133. *Ibid.*, dated 12-9-1844-NAI.

134. *P G.R.*, 160/76 of 30-10-1844, Richmond to Currie.

135. Hardinge to Ellenbrough Private-17 September, 1844, EP (PRO), 30/12 (21/7). Richmond observes. "Raja Heera Singh himself is not believed to be hostile to his uncle there is no good reason why he should be and his younger brothers and his own family are more over at the mercy of the man with whom Pandit Jalla urgest a war." 160/25 Richmond to Currie, August 13, 1844, *P.G.R.*

136. *P G.R.* 159/95 of 14-6-1844 and 160/25 of 13-8-1844 , Richmond to Currie.

137. *Punjab Intelligence*, dated 7-9-1844 NAI.

private dispute, however, did not receive much support of the army, and Hira Singh too was reluctant to move armies on Jammu. Yet the affair prolonged for about six months and put on an appearance of gravity leading to several moves and counter moves from both parties.

Gulab Singh rejected terms as unreasonable and exorbitant and set himself in opposition to Pt. Jalla. He brought into play all feats of his diplomacy to outwit the Pandit and his devout disciple, Raja Hira Singh. When Gulab Singh failed to wean away Raja Hira Singh from Pandit Jala, he carried on the struggle in a masterful manner. "The recourse to conciliation and provocation renders this quarrel masterpiece in its own way[138]." The entire technique has been summed up by Dr. H. R. Gupta as under :—

"Gulab Singh seized all possessions and places of Hira Singh in the Jammu hills, then offered submission in everyway, only wanting to pay revenues at the old rate. The *Kardar* of Gujrat was asked to transmit his revenues to—Jammu under his orders and at the same time a *Vakil* of his was present at Lahore to negotiate terms. Gulab Singh, all through this, remained in close touch with the officers of the Sikh troops at Lahore and continued to bribe them and win them over, Forming alliance with the Sikh and other chiefs was another plank of his policy. He would not miss any opportunity to win over the dissatisfied element of Lahore Darbar. He exchanged turbans with Chatar Singh Atariwala. Among the other chiefs won over by Gulab Singh were Habibullah Khan of Pakhli, Arsila Khan of Zaidah, and Madad Khan, the brother of the late Painda Khan of Darband, Fateh Khan Tiwana, Rajas of Kulu, Mandi, Sibah, Jaswan, Kehlur, Datarpur and Chamba, and Jagirdars[45] of Jullundur Doaba. Friendly letters were exchanged with Dost Muhammad Khan and Akbar Khan, while Pir Muhammad Khan was invited to come to Jammu with troops."[139]

He sought to improve his position as regards military strength. Some officers discharged by the Lahare Darbar were employed by him. Five hundred sepoys of Hira Singh stationed at Jasrota were won over. He also made fresh recruitment to his troops.

To unnerve his enemies he sought to create disturbances throughout the Sikh Kingdom. There was trouble in the frontier districts of the Punjab. Where ever it occurred Gulab Singh's influence was clearly discernible, for it was in his nature to grasp every opportunity of furthering his own interest.[140]

He started negotiations with Hira Singh at the same time. He demanded the dismissal of Pandit Jalla, his rival, to which Hira Singh did not agree. "With vulpine slyness Gulab Singh threw suggestion

138. Gupta, Dr. H.R., *Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh war*, 1844, p. lxxxiv.

139. *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxiv-v.

140. Kohli, S.R., *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p. 83.

that he would be only too willing to submit if his conditions were accepted."[141] But at the same time he was piqued for a war.

Hira Singh was ultimately prevailed upon by Pandit Jalla to send Sikh troops against Jammu. When the advance guards of the Sikh army reached Sialkot Gulab Singh changed his policy of confrontation. He sent a word that he would accept the terms "in the manner his nephew Mian Jawahir Slngh might advise him on his arrival at Jammu." The troops were therefore ordered not to advance further. Jawahar Singh was allowed to return to Jammu and he counselled him to make peace with the Lahore Darbar. Their well-wishers were able to point out that the split in the family might prove fatal to its interests, expecially in view of the Khalsa's indifference or hostility. Thus with the help of intermediaries, a semblance of amity was restored. Consequently, Gulab Singh agreed to depute his son Mian Sohan Singh to Lahore to settle terms. He was instructed to negotiate for peace on the following conditions :—

(i) Hazara to be assigned to Gulab Singh for 2½ lakhs annually;

(ii) Chiefs and soldiers in the service of the Lahore Darbar who joined Gulab Singh to be forgiven;

(iii) the title of Raja to be conferred upon Sohan Singh,

(iv) Gulab Singh not to be charged arrears, but he would pay at the increased rate in future,

(v) Multan to be given to him in farm on a contract of five lakhs more than the amount paid by Savan Mal.

The young man was welcomed with a salute of guns,[142] on his arrival at Lahore on November 1 and was lodged in Suchet Singh's house.[143] Mian Jawahar Singh, Hira Singh's brother, however, remained behind at Jammu to take possession of half of Suchet Singh's estates.[144] The reconciliation was declared to be complete, and in truth the arrangements agreed on between them were actually carried into effect.[145] It was opined that the reconciliation was virtually submission on the part of the Raja and it was, thus, in some measure, a triumph on the part of the Pandit.[146] Gulab Singh's submission was probably induced, and

141. Gupta, Dr. H.R., *op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

142. Kohli, S.R., *op. cit.*, p. 76.

143. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. IV, Pt. III, p. 63 ; *P.G.R.O.*, 164/3 of 13-11-1844.

144. *P.G.R.O.*, 169/76 of 30-10-1844 Richmond to Currie.

145. *P.G R.O* , 164/3 of 13-11-1844, Broadfoot to Currie.

146. *P.G.R O.*, 160/76 of 30-10-1844. In this connection, Richmond observes : ".. it seems doubtful whether the Raja has lost that elasticity of mind and resolution of character which have raised him to his present greatness and so to have quieted before the superior genius or power of the Pundit or whether he merely thinks himself unprepared for an encounter and desired solely to gain time (*Ibid*).

might have been brought about to a certain extent, by external factors, including the threatened hostility of Dost Muhammad Khan and his preparations for occupation of Peshawar. Instead of open hostility. Gulab Singh now resorted to underground measures to revenge for insult and destroy his enemies particularly Jalla. Thus the so-called reconciliation was only apparent. The relations between the two parties remained as hostile as ever. Gulab Singh was the last person to forget and bear with Jalla's imprudent counsel to his respectful disciple. Jalla's supermacy over Hira Singh could last as long as differences existed between the uncle and nephew, who had already been estranged on account of the murder of Suchet Singh, Gulab Singh's resolution to avenge his brother's death and inflict punishment upon Hira Singh for his bad deeds caused much concern to the latter. He sent Sheikh Imam-ud-din to Jammu to reconcile his uncle. But the mission failed with the consequence that Jalla got an opportunity to flare up conflagration of dispute between the uncle and the nephew. A renewed struggle was now expected between Hira Singh and Gulab Singh of whose capacity and good fortune the people had a high opinion.[147] "But meanwhile circumstances turned against Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla with an unexpected precipitation and swept away both of them.

Hira Singh was certainly "one of the most notable and popular persons at the court of Lahore."[148] He had learnt f.om his father the art of winning the favour of the troops by his eloquence and promises.[149] His ascendancy to power as Prime Minister of Lahore was therefore reckoned as harbinger of peace and strength to the Lahore State. Notwithstanding several circumstances in this favour, his position was extremely difficult and perilous. Ventura had rightly predicted that Hira Singh would soon be compelled to fly to Jammu.[150] In fact the convulsions that had brought him to the surface of power and cast him upon his present eminence had deranged all the machinery and functions of the government.[151] The soldiery had grown unruly; the Sikh Chiefs were set as body against the ascendancy of the Jammu family, while the Rani Jindan wanted to reign herself through her lovers and her brother Sardar Jawahir Singh.[152]

In these circumstances Hira Singh required the help of Gulab Singh. But the youngman, under the evil influence of Pandit Jalla, murdered his uncle Suchet Singh and thus antagoised not only Gulab Singh, but most of the troops and the courtiers. This led to serious challenges to his authority and ultimately caused his downfall.

147. *P.G.R.O.*, 164/3 of 13-11-1844, Broadfoot to Currie.
148. Osbarne, *The Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, p. 76.
149. Honigberger, *Thirty-five years in the East*, Vol. II, p. 109.
150. Ellengorough, to the Queen, 20 Oct., 1843 (EP) PRO 30/12, fol. 97a.
151. Anon., *History of the Panjab*, Vol. II, p. 287.
152. Ellenborough's Minutes, *Punjab Papers*, p. 105.

Although he succeeded in destroying Attar Singh Sindhanwalia and Bhai Bir Singh who had thrown a challenge to his authority, yet he had become the object of much animosity on account of the death of the holy man Bhai Bir Singh and his life was as uncertain as before.[153]

Hence forth followed events which took the wind off Hira Singh's sails aud led to his eventual downfall and death. Some of these were the creation of his keen and sincere desire to improve the financial and administrative affairs of the State. Hira Singh and his Brahman adviser Pandit Jalla, "a man as senseless and srupid as he was mean and selfish," employed themselves ruthlessly to improve the finances and bring back the troops to subordination which antagonised all the chiefs. The Queen Mother, Rani Jindan was altogether neglected and therefore turned hostile. A fatal reaction was brewing up. An extremely perilous situation had developed and there was a universal expectation of an upheavel.[154] The nobllity, the army and Raja Gulab Singh abhorred all these measures believed to have been engineered by Pandit Jalla. One and all demanded his dismissal which Raja Hira Singh refused. Rani Jindan had also of late began claiming Regency which was denied by the Ministry resulting in bitterness between the Minister and the Queen Mother, the Mutsaddi party headed by Diwan Dina Nath, the Lahore Vakils with the British Agent, besides Bhai Ram Singh. The Rani appealed directly to the soldiery and raised their disaffection. She sent a message to the troops charging Hira Singh and his party with treasonous designs and throwing hereself and the boy Maharaja on their protection.[155] On December 19, the officers of the army advised the Minister to make an accommodation with Jawahir Singh and to make peace with the Rani. In the evening of December 20, the troops left cantonments in tumultous bodies. declaring the Rani and her son in danger. During the night the conspirators and the Rani settled operations for the morrow and stirred up troops with promises of plunder of Jammu. On December 21, Raja Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla, realising that everything was lost for them at Lahore, started their fateful flight towards Jammu accompanied by some 2,000 or 3,000 hill troops. Jawahar Singh and Sham Singh Attariwala with Lal Singh and more than 10,000 men of all arms set out in their pursuit. They soon overtook the fugitives some 14 miles distant from Lahore, Raja Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla were killed along with Mian Sohan Sing, son of Raja Gulab Singh, and Mian Labh Singh. Their heads were cut off and paraded through Lahore city.

Thus fell the undaunted Minister of the Sikh kingdom who had steered the ship of Lahore State during the most horrible whirlpool of anarchy and under the shadow of blood-thirsty swords. The whole army was responsible for Pandit Jalla's death but "Hira Singh's death was

153. Ellenborough to the Duke of Wellington, 9 June, 1844. PRO 30/12 (28/12) fol. 147 ff,

154. *P.G.R*, 164/3 of 13-11-1844, Broadfoot to Currie.

155. Gough and Innes, *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars*, pp. 56-57.

caused by his mistaken loyalty to his tutor.[156] Hira Singh lacked determination and he was easily misled by Pandit Jalla. His bold design for averting anarchy and establishing law and order were, nevertheless, soon appreciated by high and low when Lahore State was rocked by extreme disorder and confusiou after a few days of Hira Singh's death. His death obliterated the last vestiges of the Dogra supermacy over Lahore kingdom and ushered in a grave danger for the existence of Gulab Singh and his Dogra Raj in Jammu. His death at the same time sounded the death knell of the Punjab kingdom which now fast headed towards disintegration and extinction,[157] and in desperation the rulers of Lahore directed against Jammu Raj all the fury of anti-Dogra feelings which were temporarily flared up by the wrong politics of Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla and their ultimate aseassination, an event which foreboded the Sikh invasion af Jammu.

D. Invasion of Jammu by Lahore Armies.

The Jammu Raj was now threatened with total annihilation and Gulab Singh, the only surviving Dogra Raja, had to face the gravest peril of his life. His diplomatic skill and perfect composure of mind were sorely put to trial.

The Sikhs had some reasons to be offended with Raja Gulab Singh, as his intentions had been regarded with suspicion by the Court, while the Jammu influence had long been reviewed with disfavour by the Khalsa, The internal condition of the Lahore kingdom seems to have been the main causc of hostile action against Jammu. It was rooted in the indiscipline and avarice of the Lahore soldiery and the inability of the Sikh leadership to control them. The soldiers were almost mntinous and were pillaging the country side and the government was emptying the treasury to keep them quiet.[158]

It was rumourd that "They have not twelve lakhs in the treasury.[159] and it was expected to last only for three months,[160] unless the troops could be prevailed upon to move in hostilities against Gulab Singh.[161] Rani Jindan even held a councl with the deputation of Sardars and generals, and it was agreed that, in consideration of past gifts and the depleted treasury, increase of pay should come with the capture of Jasrota and Jammu.[162] The rulers of Lahore, therefore, planned to mobilise against Gulab Singh.[163] ...

156. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alaxander Gardner*, p. 256.
157. Chopra, Barkat Rai, *pp. cit.*, p. 346.
158. *O.R P.S.*, letter No. 37, dated I1-2-1845, Broadfoot to Currie.
159. Hardinge to Ellenborough Private 20-2-1845 EP (PRO) 30/12 (21/7).
160. Same to Same, 23-1-1845 EP (PRO) 30/12 (21/7).
161. *Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, op. cit.*, p. 241.
162. 164/31 of 7-1-1845, Broadfoot to Currie P.G.R.
163. *Cunninghan's History of the Sikhs*, p. 241.

The hope of plunder, no doubt, impelled the military rulers to send a force of about 9,000 men, in February, against Gulab Singh.[164]

In addition, the uncontrollable army had almost usurped all authority in the State. By o January the state of affairs at Lahore had become so serious that some members of the Government, in fear of their lives from the soldiery were glad to see them destroyed in a war with the British. The Rani and her party even desired a subsidiary alliance with British, which alarmed the soldiery still more. The British, however, decided that such a course must be studiously avoided.[165] In these circumstances the ruling party thought of directing the troops against Raja Gulab Singh. Thereby it was intended to remove their presence from the capital. gratify their avarice as well as their vengeance, and when ordered they marched against Jammu with alacrity.[166] Only plunder was not object of the Sikh move on Jammu. The authorities of Lahore wanted to 'conquer' Jammu, remove Gulab Singh and to seat on the *gaddi* Raghbar Deo, a son of the late Raja Jit Singh.

Gulab Singh was not unaware of the developments at Lahore. He had been feeling the pulse of circumstances all these days. He even thirsted for vengeance on the authorities of Lahore, who had killed so many members of his family. But he took resort to diplomatics moves. Publically he professed submission to Lahore Darbar, but secretly he stirred up every enemy of the Sikhs and every ally of himself that his messengers could reach.[167] He had even recalled his troops from Kashmir, and honourably dismissed every Sikh in his service to avoid treachery. He tried to rally his people to his cause and won over the widow of Raja Suchet Singh and Jawahir Singh to his side. He opened negotiations with the Barakzai Afghans as well as with the British. He was also conducting intrigues at the Darbar and with Pashora Singh. At Lahore Gulab Singh set up propaganda terrifying the courtiers by accounts of his preparations to resist Lahore armies. At the same time his agents offered and received fresh terms of submission which were duly discussed by the council.[168] His object seems to have been to delay mobilisation of Lahore armies. He gained enough time to transfer his treasures to the hill fastnesses and to carry treasures and crown jewels from Jasrota to Jammu. By prolonging the issue he wanted to bring about the bankruptcy of the Lahore Government and thus force his decision on a decrept and weak government. He wanted to avoid an open clash. He was certainly not so foolish, observes George Bruce, as to weaken himself now in a useless struggle with the Khalsa if he could fight them later with advantage, when it was caught up in its inevitable

164. Anon , *History of the Panjab*, Vol. II, p. 313.

165. 135-I/8, Currie to Broadfoot, 13-1-1845—*P.G.R.*

166. *Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, op. cit* , p. 241 ; B.R. Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab*, 1839-45, p. 363.

167. Sec. Consul. 102 of 4-4-1845, Broadfoot Currie, 16 January, 1845 N.A.I., New Delhi.

168. *Ibid.*

struggle with the British, to whom indeed he had already offered his services in the event of war.[169] At the same time he made all preparation for a final struggle. He distracted the imbecile government with a variety of spacious proposals, at the same time terrifying them with reports of divisions in his favour in Peshawar and the Derajat. He also detached the Mutsaddis, and Sardars by promises and large bribes, and both Bhai Ram Singh and Diwan Dina Nath had received bonds of many lakhs of rupees to be paid when affairs were settled.[170]

Nevertheless, Gulab Singh's own position had been very much weakened. He had partially failed in his primary object. The armies of Lahore had been mobilised though reluctuantly, aginst Jammu under Lal Singh, Sham Singh Attariwala, Rattan Chand Duggal, Sultan Muhammad Khan, and others. On their approach to Jasrota the troops of late Raja Dhian Singh and Ganpat Rai, the Diwan of Raja Hira Singh, deserted Gulab Singh's cause, and joined the invaders. Mian Jawhair Singh was therefore. ordered by Gulab Singh to withdraw, which he did under agreement with Sikh leaders and surrendered Jasrota to them. Nihal Singh Wazir of Raja Suchet Singh and the Raja's widows followed suit and threw their lot with the Khalsa forces. Thus Samba and Ramnagar also passed under occupation of the Invaders without any resistance. The Sambyals turned supporters of the Khalsa and descended on Jammu via Uttar Behni and Kuli.[171] Faiz Talab Khan, Raja of Rajouri and chiefs of Bhimber and Kahuta turned Gulab Singh's enemies. Thus Hazara, Kahutah and territories west of the Chenab were lost. Two of Raja Gulab Singh's regiments were reported to have revolted and gone over to the Sikhs. Whole of his jagirs and territories had been overrun by the invaders. The Sikh generals and their troops closed on Jammu from all sides. "About 35,000 men of the Sikh army were before Jammu," reported Hardinge to Ellenborough[173]. But according to Jawala Sahai the forces of the Sikhs amounted to 50,000, while those of Jammu did not exceed 3,000.[174] The situation was perilous indeed; and Gulab Singh had to fall back entirely on his diplomacy in this crisis and avoided clash of arms involving unnecessary bloodshed.

On December 30, messengers from Raja Gulab Singh brought assurance of allegiance and a request for the confirmation of their

169. Bruce, George *Six Battles for India, op. cit.*, p. 87.
170. Chopra, B.R., *Kingdom of the Punjab*, p. 365.
171. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnamah*, p. 295.
172. *ORPS*, VII, Letter No. 24, BK. 164/41, dated 25-1-1845, Broadfoot to Currie.
173. Hasrat, Bikramajit, *Puujab Papers*, p. 84, Hardinge to Ellenborough.
174. *P.G.R., Vol. IV*, Diary of Mr. P. Sandys Melwil, Extra Asstt. to the Resident at Lahore, 17 July, 1847.
These troops of Gulab Singh were deployed in the following manner; 500 were in the fort, one column was distributed in the jungle which covered the hill down to the plains and a second column was held in reserve.

master's jagirs. On the next day, the Darbar granted a confirmation of all jagirs and assurances of protection to Gulab Singh. But at the same time the force destined for Jasrota was more than doubled. Some ten battalions of infantry with increased cavalry and artillary were mobilised towards hill of Jasrota under the command of Sham Singh Attariwala. The force in Hazara was also directed to move speedily on Kashmir, and thence to Jammu. The widow of Raja Suchet Singh was also declared his heir and entitled to his Jagirs. Sardar Ranjodh Singh Majithia was appointed to govern Jammu hills, when conquered, and all the petty Rajas were called on to cooperate against the Jammu family.[174]

On 6th January, Sham Singh Attariwala marched from Lahore for Jasrota. But all was tumult and fear at the capital. Gulab Singh had cooled down the Sikh enthusiasm for aggression. Consequently, Darbar moves were slowed down. He also sought to sow disunity at Lahore and instigate unrest all round. He continually communicated with the Darbar and there was continual succession of proposals between him and the Darbar. Unrest had appeared in Hazara, in Peshawar, in the Derajat at Multan and several other places. The Mutsaddis and Sardars had been detached. Bhai Ram Singh and Diwan Dina Nath had already been won over. The Bhai had ceased to go to the Darbar. To detach Sham Singh Attariwala, Gulab Singh had sent to him his relative Sher Singh Attariwala who had been for some time in Jammu as a refugee from Hira Singh's government. Gulab Singh's diplomacy had wrought havoc at Lahore with the result that "there have been many intrigues and changes of parties, producing little other result than the conviction that out of the present materials a firm and consistent government is scacely to be looked for."[176] Finally, the Darbar entrusted the invading force to Sham Singh Attariwala who lent new vigour to the expedition because of his personal hostility towards the Jammu family who had for years hated him. Gulab Singh, however, took wind off his sails by opening negotiations with the imbecile Lahore government which seemed to be anxious somehow to save their face by coming to some honourable understanding with Gulab Singh and escape the ignonimity of a recked expedition against the wily hill Chief. He sent Sardar Chatter Singh Attariwala and others to Lahore as his agents with full power to treat.[177]

Consequently, it was proposed to transfer the Command from Sham Singh Attariwala and a treaty of peace with Gulab Singh, marked with "the saffron hand," was delivered to the Raja as he should comply to the conditions stipulated. But the proposed treaty was detected by troops who rejected it with insults and threats to the negotiators, and, finally agreed to with some modifications. The treaty was, however, treacherous on both sides and was not likely to be ratified by Gulab Singh.[178]

175. 164/24, December 27, 1844, and 164/25, December 30, 1844 Broadfoot to Currie, P.G.R.

176. 164/36, Broadfoot to Currie, January 16, 1845, *P.G.R.*

177. 164/36, Broadfoot to Currie. January 16, 1845, *P.G.R.*

178. *Ibid.*

On the other side the Lahore treasury was so fast emptying that, with their tedious and ineffectual mode of warfare, it was feared that bankruptcy and revolution must arrive before the resources of the Jammu Raja could be made available by force. It was, therefore, desired by any means to obtain part of them as facilitating the acquisition of the rest. Like a dexterous politician Gulab Singh worked out this situation to his own advantage. He sent messengers to deliver over the fort of Jasrota to the Sikhs in pursuance of the treaty, and thereby interrupted the separate negotiations of Mian Jawahir Singh with the Sikhs. The fort was surrendered and occupied by about 2,000 Sikh troops under Rattan Singh Mann. The news of this event reached Lahore on January 23, 1845. The terror and perplexity of the Darbar immediately gave place to immoderate exultation which was shown in profuse presents and "in gross and open debauchery both by the Ranee and her brother."[179]

Great indeed was the frustration of the Darbar when the treasure at Jasrota was found to contain only about two and quarter lakhs of rupees. Before surrendering the fort of Jasrota under the treaty Gulab Singh had stripped it of its treasure. This seems to have exasperated the rulers of Lahore who had in utter desperation invited the army to march against Jammu. Gulab Singh was declared enemy of the State. The dispossessed Rajas of Rajouri were encouraged to excite insurrection in the hill dependencies of Dhian Singh which had just been guaranted by the treaty to Mian Jawahir Singh.

Gulab Singh sharply reacted to Darbar's reproaches by pointing out this latter instance of bad faith on the part of Lahore Darbar. At the same time he hastened his efforts by intrigue and bribery to embarrass the Darbar and to delay still further actual collision with the Sikh troops. He even obtained by a heavy present to the slave Mangla, the silence of the Rani who was usually violent against him.[180] At the same time he wrote to the British offering to transfer his allegiance and his services to the British Government on certain conditions.[181] Hardinge was pleased to report that "Gulab Singh has again written to us, delightful to enter into terms with us.[182] Gulab Singh's agents, how-

179. 161/40, Broadfoot to Currie, 22-1-1845, *P.G.R.*

180. 164/47, Broadfoot to Currie, 5-1-1845, *P.G.R.*

181. O.R.P.S., VII, 164/45, 32 of 4-2-1845, *P.G.R.*

182. O.R.P.S., VII, 164/45, 29 of 11-2-1845 and 164/51 of 11-2-1845, Broadfoot to Currie. The first overture was a voluntary offer of his own through a confidential emissary. The letter I now allude to is in answer to the intrigue of a Frechman, a Mons. de St. Armand, a great scamp, who took it into his head to go to Jammoo from Ludhiana, and after two days' delay, finding he could get no employment, pretended he came on a mission from Capt. Mills to propose an alliance with the Rajah and the conquest of the Punjab. The Rajah's letter by his own emissary had been previously received and rejected. The Frenchman impudently wrote to Capt. Mills from Jammoo that his proposals were accepted, and the Rajah has now sent us a letter entreating us to lose no time. Broadfoot will show up the imposter and Mons. de St. Armand will have his nose cut or be hanged.

ever, were active enough to vitiate Lahore atmosphere in his favour[183]. They represented that "pending negotiations, Gulab Singh would pay within six months 50 lakhs of rupees to enable the Darbar to support the army[184]" but if attacked, "he would send away to the mountains, all his treasure and fight to the last ....."[185]

The result of this was disconcerting as anticipated. The Lahore troops, after the first division had gone 20 miles, halted. Some commanders feigned illness, while others stayed on the ground of being dangerous to go among their men. When they had received the promised gold necklaces, they still refused to proceed, till the Darbar had adopted a more satisfactory line of conduct with respect to Gulab Singh who was now declared an old and faithful servant of the State.[196]. However a Sikh army of 5776 men was sent from Lahore towards Jammu on February 8, 1845 under Lal Singh. In about two weeks, his troops from Lahore gradually closed up to the neighbourhood of Jammu in communication with Sham Singh.

This move of the Rani and the Darbar however, forced Gulab Singh to react violently. He caused delay in Sham Singh's advance from Jasrota ...by breeding mutual distrust between the troops and the chiefs by every means, for delay was his object.[187] He distributed his money freely among the *Panchayats* of regiments ; he gratified lhe mcmbers of these committees by his personal attentions, and he again inspired Peshwara Singh with designs upon the sovereignty itself.[188] With his small army he held back the invaders. and at one stage routed Sham Singh and captured five of his guns. With gold and words of flattery he succeeded in sowing seeds of dissensions among Sikh generals, courtiers and soldiers. Bhai Ram Singh and Diwan Dina Nath had already been won over. Now he distributed his money freely among the *Panchayats* of regiments and won their favour by his personal attention. He opened direct negotiations with the troops. These delegates, selected from the ranks. exceeding 150 in number, were most humbly received by Gulab Singh. He laid his sword at their feet and declared them as representatives of the army, to be his masters.[189] He thus won over the troops to his side. He had given 5 lakhs of rupees to Peshawara Singh who daily held Darbar at Sialkot and received deputation from the army.[190] There had been an offer to Gulab Singh to take the office of Wazir, which

183. George Bruce, *Six Battles for India*, p. 89.
184. 164/47, Broadfoot to Currie, 5-2-1845, *P.G.R.*
185. 164/47, Broadfoot to Currie, 5-2-1845, *P.G.R.*
186. *Ibid.*
187. 165/1, Broadfoot to Currie, 23-2-1845, *P.G.R.*
188. Cunningham, J.D. *Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 241. Gulab Singh had given 5 lakhs of rupees to Peshawar Singh who daily held Darbar at Sialkot and received deputation from the army. (*Ibid.*)
189. Hardinge to Ellenborough-Private-Calcutta, 8 March, 1845 Hasrat, pp.
190. Cunningham, J.D. *History of the Sikhs, op. cit.*, p. 241

of course he had declined in favour of Peshora Singh, who had consented to accept it provided his demand of five or six heads be conceded..."[191] This deal of Gulab Singh had far-reaching results. Lal Singh and other Sikh Commanders lost hold on the army. Rani Jindan and her brother were so unnerved that they thought of flight across the Sutlaj on February 21 and 22, but were prevented by the troops at Lahore.[192]

The situation, however, improved in favour of Lahore Darbar by a dubious act of Gulab Singh. An agreement had been negotiated by the army "*panches*" with Gulab Singh. He had agreed to pay the arrears of his tribute and the army sent *Vakils* (envoys) to receive the money.

They eeceived four lakhs as the first instalment. But when they had gone a short distance from Jammu they were waylaid and deliberately murdered by Gulab Singh's orders, and money was brought back to Jammu.[193] This compromised Gulab Singh's position with the army. Some fighting took place, but with no important results.[194] A peace was soon negotiated. General Mewa Singh and many others were won over by Gulab Singh. He promised to increase the pay of the troops to Rs. 15 per month who declared their allegiance to him and were ready to march to Lahore and make him *Vazir*.[195]

The army escorted him to Lahore under oaths of safety of his person and honour, where Fakir Aziz-ud-din, Bhai Ram Singh and Diwan Dina Nath had already manipulated the situation in his favour. He was delivered to the Darbar under security of 2,000 army *panches* who also later on escorted the Raja on his visit to the palace.[196] Some of the principal Chiefs were ordered by the *Panchayats* to conduct Gulab Singh from his place of confinement and back again. In all respects, the visit was one of the triumph for him.[197]

A reconciliation was effected, and he received favourable terms. He was to pay 68 lakhs of rupees to the Darbar. But allowance was also made for the losses the Raja had suffered. As a result the Raja had to pay twenty-seven lakhs of rupees only.[198] Taking advantage of Peshaora Singh's bid for power and revolts in the Chibhal he almost extorted on 20 May, 1845 the charge of all the territories formerly belonging to Dhian Singh. On the question of *Wazarat* he changed sides between Lal Singh and Jawahir Singh and thus manipulated

191. *P.G.R.* 165/1 Broadfoot to Currie, dated 23-2-1845.
192. *P.G.R.* Broadfoot to Currie, dated 28-2-1845.
193. Hardinge to Ellen borough (private), Calcutta, 22-3-1845, EP (PRO); 30/12 (21/7)-Hasrat, *P.P.*, p. 87.
194. *Ibid.*
195. *PGRS*, VII, 183/88 of 1-4-1845, Broadfoot to Currie.
196. M'Gregor, Hist. of the Sikhs, Vol. II, p. 37; G.C. Smyth, *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 139.
197. *P.G.R.*, 165/31 of 5-5-1845, Broadfoot to Currie.
198. *P.G.R.*, 165/31 of 9-5-1845, Broadfoot to Currie.

Lahore politics io his advantage, so that everybody wished his exit from Lahore.[199] He had visualised the future fate of the Lahore Kingdom and its impending dissolution and thought it better to retire to the hills which he did at the close of July.[200] Thus Gulab Singh who had "a wonderful gift of evading assassination and violent ceath,[201]" displayed great presence of mind and a Machiavellian adroitness in extricating himself from a nasty situation,[202] and returned home, financially as well as physically unscathed.[203] As soon as he was back in his home territories, he reopened negotations with the British and offered them his services in the event of a war against the Sikhs.[204] The war was already round the corner as later events were to show. For the time being all parties heaved a sigh of relief on his leaving Lahore as the contestants for *Wazarat* were more afraid of his diplomacy than the danger of the rival.

It is evident that the expedition against Gulab Singh was rightly timed when much of his force and courage had been broken on account of events of 21 December. But Gulab Singh's statesmanship tamed much of its velocity and turned the scales against Lahore Darbar. The whole affair proved quite a heavy burden on the already depleted Lahore exchequer. Diwan Dina Nath stated that including 25 lakhs of rupees remitted in the first days of joy and generosity the extra expenditnre in fifteen days amounted to a crore of rupees.[205] This was only the expenditure of the first fifteen days of the crisis which lasted for more than two months. And what was the return ? Gulab Singh accepted to pay 68 lakhs, but he got away with the payment of 27 lakhs.[206] The government treasury was left only with 2 or 3 lakhs of rupees. Gulab Singh's diplomacy of prolonging the whole affair had virtually brought about the complete bankruptcy of the Lahore kingdom without any open hostilities. Moreover, the Lahore Government lost the trust of the greatest and most powerful ally at the juncture when they were on the verge of going to war with the British and when his resources and leadership would have been of immense value to them. This event also broke the backbone of the Lahore kingdom which was founded and maintained on the cooperation of the Dogras and the Sikhs. Hardinge was shrewed enongh to observe ; "and what was most serious the

199. Bawa Satinder Singh observes ; "Disgusted by the prevailing atmosphere of dissipation and the waves of intrigue and anarchy that had engulfed Lahore since Gulab Singh's arrival, the darbar concluded that the Raja's daparture might be conducive to establishing some degree of normalcy and permitted him to return home. (See *Jammu Fox*, Southern illinois University Press, USA, 1974, p. 82.

200. *ORPS*, 167/12, pp. 76-83, letter No 174 of 26-7-1847, Broadfoot to Currie.

201. Morison, John L., *Lawrence of Lucknow*, London, 1934, p. 92.

202. Khushwant Singh, *A Hist of the Sikhs*, Lond on 1966, Vol. II, p. 37.

203. Bawa, Satinder Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

204. Khushwant Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 37.

205. Broadfoot to Currie, 7 January, 1845 Sec. Consult. 68 of 4-4-1845 NAI, N.D.

206. Sec. Consult. 58 of 20-6-1845, Foreign Office NAI, N.B.

combination of the Sikhs and the Dogras, the mainstay of the Lahore Government during and after Ranjit Singh's rule, had ceased.[207] Instead of holding the Lahore Government, now Gulab Singh sought to undermine it. From the treatment he had received from them since Ranjit's death," it was evident that he had no cause of gratitude or attachment to the Lahore Darbar, by whose orders and intrigues his family had been nearly exterminated, his possessions taken, and his son slain."[208]

Moreever, the Sikhs wasted most of their time and resources in the Jammu Hills when they should have moved against the British and taken them by surprise. The invasion of Jammu by the Government of Lahore was therefore an ill-considered action which recoiled on them and benefited only the British power in India. It also laid down the hey-stone of the foundation of Jammu and Kashmir State. Gulab Singh finally broke off from his overlords whose aggressive designs against him forced him to transfer his loyalties from Lahore to Calcutta, and explains his offer of allegiance to the British Governor-General of India. In a confidential letter Gulab Singh justifies the shift in his loyalties in the most emphatic and decisive words. "Now the Sikhs" writes he, "without any just cause put to death the following members of my family :

Raja Dhian Singh, Rajah Socheit Singh, Raiee Kesree Singh, with their personal followers. Rajah Heera, Singh Mean Rooden Singh with their attendants."

"On this account, "declares Gulab Singh," we are absolved from our allegiance to the Khalsa.[209]

This letter was probably written immediately after the revolution of 21 December, 1844 in which Hira Singh and other Dogra leaders were killed. He anticipated attack on Jammu, and so he was desirous at the same time of receiving aid and countenance from the British because the army at Lahore was then disorganised and without a leader.[210]

207. Bal, S.S., *Anglo-Sikh Relation* s.p. 62.

208. Hardinge to Ellenborough, 7 June, 1846 EP (PRO), London-Hasrat, *p p.*

209. Br. Mus. Add MSS. 40, 859 to 40877, Letter from Ripon Papers Vol. 40,877 Rajah Gulab Singh to Genl. Ventura (No. (ate).

210. Hasrat, Bikramajit, *Punjab Papers* p. 84 Hardinge to Ellenborough. Though there seems to be much justification in Gulab Singh's assertions and his pleas for transferring his loyalties yet several writers have brought against him charges of disloyalty and treachery towards Lahore State, of which he was a vassal and lease-hoider. It is asserted that he should have sided with his liege-lord during the war. Some doubts have also been fhrown on his role in Lahore politics before the invasion of Jammu. But proof of his treacherous and disloyal conduct prior to the revolution of 21 December, 1844 are scanty and ambiguous. After that event he openly turned revengeful against the rulers of Lahore, a fact which Gulab Singh himself admitted. It is perhaps expectiug much from a powerful vassal of a crumbling state that he should have remained loyal in every condition, even when he had been snbjected to a humiliating and destructive invasion and abortive attemptt on his life afterwards.

Thus was Gulab Singh "roused to opposition to Lahore Government by almost unheard acts of oppression,"[211] Though his offer of allegiance was not honoured then. Yet Gulab Singh was confident that opportunity would come when he would hold the trump card. He bided his time. His opportunity came when the Lahore troops crossed the Sutlej with the intention of invading the British military posts on 11 December, 1845 and the First Anglo-Sikh war broke out.

For the time being, the Jammu Raj was saved from an overshelming deluge and the credit for this undoubtedly goes to Gulab Singh's estute diplomacy. At such a juncture a man with a lesser faith in himself and with a little less strong nerves would have easily succumbed before a tremendously large combination of enemies, old and new, dispossessed chiefs, medley of greedy soldiers, jealous generals and desperate rulers. Gulab Singh's intellectual equanimity and his diplomacy of gold and sword-brandishing, however, vanquished them and he succeeded not only surviving himself but also in salvaging the principality from the perils.

211. *Ibid.* Rd. Brown to Genl. Venture, dated 10 (or 16) January, 1845 (from Jammoo).

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Dogras Get Jammu & Kashmir State

Although estrangement between the Dogra Rajas and the Sikh Court had started immediately after Ranjit's death, still they stood for the integrity of the Lahore kingdom and specially Dhian Singh Dogra gave his life and blood in the struggle against discordant elements in the State. They held unequivocal loyalty towards the great Maharaja, and seem to have desired to codtinue so after him. But the attitude of Lahore court, under the shadow of British intrigues, antagonised Gulab Singh, and forced him by atrocities to change his entire attitude and policy in relation io the Lahore Darbar.

Gulab Singh's attitude towards the tottering Sikh state was to a large extent conditioned by the developments since the time of the assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh and his Minister Raja Dhian Singh Dogra. After this incident there was a complete collapse of administtration and law and order in the Lahore state and the rulers lamentably failed to re-establish government authority and to harness the mutinous army which had learnt to murder the rulers and to plunder the people. As such there was every likelihood of distintegration of Ranjit's ill-knit kingdom and little hope of its survival. Punjab Kingdom had, no doubt, become the 'sick-man' of India with no hope of recovery. The rulers of Lahore had become despaired and the shrewd Gulab Singh had read the writing on the wall as clearly as British Diplomats had done. Out of natural sympathy he was though sorry for the dying man, yet the black glimpse of uncertain future equally solicited his concern. Nobody could save the Lahore kingdom from headlong disintegration except collective efforts of its courtiers, chiefs, governors and rulers who were themselves rent with mutual distrust and jealousies. This realisation had made Gulab Singh lukewarm towards the cause of Sikh Kingdom.

The spirit with which Sikhs entered the war with the British further drove Gulab Singh away from the interests of the Lahore kingdom. This was a strange war fought not for conquest and victory but for defeat and destruction. No doubt it was a suicidal war. The chiefs in their desperate condition desired the destruction of the army and their restoration to power.[1] These men desired that their only chance of retaining power was to have the army removed by inducing it to engage in a contest which they believed would end in its dispersion and pave the way for their recognition as ministers more surely than if rhey did their

1. Hardinge to Ellenborough, Dogra, 23 October, 1845 EP (PRO) 30/12/(21/7)

duty by the people.[2] The Ranee and her advisers courted collision for the purpose of employing their unruly soldiers against their friendly neighbour, as the safest means of extricating themselves from the personal dangers to which they were constantly exposed.[3] By means of the war, they expected "in the first instance, to be released from the terrorising presence of the uncontrollable troops: and that secondly they could use either victory or disaster to their own advantage.[4]

On the eve of the Sikh war, Sardar Jawahir Singh, brother of Rani Jindan and the maternal uncle of Maharaja Dalip Singh, had been made Prime Minister of Lahore State, with Rani Jindan as Regent. This pure Sikh goyernment, however, failed to get Sikh support and the army remained as allergic to civil authority as before. Rather the *Panchayats* of the army were threatening to murder Sardar Jawahir Singh. They rose to a man against him, accused him and summoned him to the parade of the whole army hacked him to pieces with bayonets and brought about his death worse than a dog's in the very presence of his sister, Rani Jindan, the mother of Maharaja Dalip Singh.[5]

This exasperated the Rani. In a fit of despair she swore to wreak vengeance on the whole Khalsa which was responsible for the murder of her brother and unprecedented lawlessness. The fire which had been so long played with now became master. "The idea of the Maharani in her spirit of revenge was after that of Iago ; Whether Briton killed Sikh, or Sikh killed Briton, or each do kill one another, each way makes my gain"[6] as she feared the Sikhs for more than the British. Rani

2. *Cunningham's history of the Sikhs*, p. 257.
3. Governor General Hardinge to Secret Committee, Camp Ferozepur, 31 December, 1845 BISL (l)
4. Gough and Innes, *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*, p. 141.
5. *Lahore iutelligenee*, Broadfoot to Currie, communicates inteligence from Lahore. The troops march out to the plain of Mian Mir, assume the government in the name of the Khalsa Panth, "demand Kunwar Peshaura Singh or in the case of his death, Sardar Jawahir Singh (the Rani's brother), who is supposed to have murdered him ; Sardar Jawahir Singh who had hoped to hold out in the Lahore fort, finding the troops the members of the deputation are made prisoners and one of them, Nur-ud-Din, is sent back to tell the Rani that she must surrender Sardar Jawahir Singh by a certain date ; the whole of the garrison in the fort deserts ; the Rani, Sardar Jawahir Singh and the other members of the Darbar set out for the camp of the troops, where Jawahar Singh is killed with two of his associates while most of the others escape ; Raja Lal Singh and others made prisoners ; the Rani, the Maharaja Diwan Dina Nath and others are released next morning and allowed to return to the Lahore Fort, taking Jawahir Singh's body with them ; the troops plunder the widows of Jawahir Singh on their way to the funeral pile ; Raja Lal Singh put into irons by the troops for having dishonoured the Rani, "the mother af all Sikhs," Diwan Dina Nath ordered to announce the death of Sardar Jawahir Singh to all the Governors or provinces and the Vakils at the Court of the Agent, Governor General a temporary Government is appointed by the troops (C) (SI 2750) ORPS, Vol., 167/36 of 6-9-1845.
6. Gordon, Sir John J & H., *The Sikhs*. p. 132.

Jindan, therefore, saw safety in hurling the 'Burchas' against the British bayonets to be cut up by them.

Such was the real objects of the Sikh war, which some describe as a national war against a foreign power, while all the Sikh chiefs including the Ragent herself, were intriguing with that foreign power to bring about the destruction and downfal of an unruly army. Gulab Singh too had his axe to grind in the affair. He had been accused of fostering this war. He had seen much of the opression of the lawless Khalsa and perhaps suffered the most during this anarchy. Like the Rani and her lovers, he too wanted the destruction of the soldiery. Only through such a war their energies could be diverted or their power destroyed. He was aware that a war with the English could be popular—by such a war, both he and the Rani would be rescued from the tyranny of the arrogant Khalsa. They would be defeated and humiliated, he was sure and then he saw would come his opportunity.[7] There was at Lahore no sovereign power whom he could be loyal. The soldiery was fickle, independable and arrogant. Eyeryone was probing his way in the dark and probably it was only Gulab Singh who had a light in his hand.

And the war came at last. Eleven a.m. was the hour fixed by the astrologer as auspicious for the march of the troops, but not a Chief stirred from his house. The officers and *panchayats*, regular, irregular to a number of a couple of thousands crowded to the Darbar and demanded the reason; the Rani tried to soothe them, saying that the fortunate hour being passed, the march could not be undertaken till the astrologer found another. The crowd demanded that this should be instantly done and the court astrologer was ordered into their presence to find proper time. They proposed that the Rani and her son should march, and intimated that till they made an example or some chief no march should take place.[8]

The Rani complained that whilst the troops were urging the march, they were still going home to their villages as fast as they got their pay; and Sham Singh Attariwalah declared his belief that unless something was done to stop this he would find himself on his way to Ferozepore with empty tents.[9] What the Rani said was quite true of the sepoys dispersing to their houses; the whole affair had so suddenly reached its present height, that many of the men themselves thought it would come to nothing.

Such were the preparations of the Lahore Court for war. Some of the old Sikh Sardars were averse to this, but they were powerless against the Court and the insolence of the soldiery. Therefore, all the "Sardars though obliged to join and lead the Khalsa troops, were in general averse to the war.[10] The Sikh army also moved with evident reluctance

7. Thorburn, S.S. *The Punjab in War and Peace*, p. 31.
8. Broadfoot to Government, 21 November, 1845—EISL (I).
9. *Ibid*.
10. M'Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*. II, p. 212.
11. Governor-General to Secret Committee, 4 December, 1845—BISL (I).

and was ''calling Gulab Singh, who was collecting forces at Jammu and was watching the progress of events,'' to whom it was quite ''evident that the Rani and the Chief are, for their own preservation, endeavouring to raise a storm which they will be powerless either to direct or allay.'' The chiefs, with a view to secure their own interests were in calandestine communication with the British. Both Lal Singh and Tej Singh had written to the English, and in all probability Rani Jindan was aware that Lal Singh had written to the British ',to consider him and the *Bibi Sahiba* (Jindan) as their friends and cut up the *burchas* (ruffians, i.e. the Khalsa) for them.[12]

Thus the Sikhs entered the war in a clumsy and leisured manner. The court astrologer was again demanded to fix another day and he announced 23rd as a fortunate date on which the army commenced the march, but halted some miles from Lahore because having got their pay many soldiers went home.[13]

The Khalsa did not seem serious over the war. It seems they were trying to avoid it if possible. But their pride and vanity compelled them to make a funny show of war preparations, while their rulers and generals revelled in debauchery at the prospect of destruction of their army. As such the defeat of the Khalsa was a foregone conclusion. Some writers, however, would not believe in the turn of Sikh tide without an extrinsic factor, which they were pleased to find in the person of the ''omnipotent'' Gulab Singh who was supposed to have given a coup de grace to the whole affair. Raja Gulab Singh, observed one critic, had fulfilled his promise,'' ''to divide the Lahore Government, the army and the people,''[14] ignoring the fact that these elements of the kingdom of Lahore were never united coherently even in the heyday of Ranjit Singh's power, and as soon as he died, these fell asunder. Statecraft is a matter of diplomacy, and Gulab Singh certainly excelled all his rivals in this craft. It was unwise on the part of the rulers of Lahore to antagonise him at such a juncture and continue to expect help and loyalty from him after unsuccessfully attempting to annihilate him.

At last the troops tumultously moved towards the frontier and on December 11 they began to cross the Sutlej. Lord Hardinge declared war and Darbar's possessions on the south of the Sutlej were confiscated, and cis-Sutlej chiefs were called upon to cooperate in punishing a ''common enemy''. All the Sikh and non-Sikh chiefs of the cis-Sutlej states, with one exception threw their lot with the British. The Hill chiefs were the first to rise against the Sikh occupation.

The Darbar, however, was wanting in political wisdom and offered no suitable terms to Gulab Singh whom they had estranged by attacking him in his capital only ten months before. They conld win him to their cause by sincere expiation for the wrongs done to him by the Lahore

12. *Nicholson's Diary*, dated 12-12-1845
13. Bruce, George, *Six Battles for India*, 1969, pp. 95-96.
14. Ganda Singh, *Anglo-Sikh Wars*, Introduction, p. 81.

Coutt. The rulers had no ambition to win the war and did not therefore deem it necessary to make up with Gulab Singh and to take him in confidence.

When at last the Sikh forces were locked in a deadly conflict for the first time with the British forces at Mudki, on December 18 they thought of the Dogra chief, who was still licking his wounds inflicted him by the unruly Khalsa and its imprudent chiefs and probably counting them and swearing vengeance on every count. Three days later on December 21, Khalsa forces sustained another staggering defeat after a brave fight throughout the night when "the fate of India trembled in the balance." This disaster at Ferozeshahr broke the morale of the handful of brave commanders who had remained loyal to the Darbar. At this juncture Gulab Singh, who could have bought 40,000 men by a sign of his finger, was being implored by the Sikhs to aid them. He had a critical and difficult game to play. The army offered to make him Maharaja, and to kill the traitors Lal Singh and Tej Singh. Fortunately for the British their prestige had its influence on his mind and his memory recounted the treacheries of the Sikhs to himself and his countrymen, and he decided otherwise. He remained firstly at Jammu, the Rani Jindan telling him not to stir unless she required him. Meanwhile Gulab Singh cajoled the whole of the leading *Panchayats* of the Sikh army, affecting to see every visitor from the battle field at any moment, whether he was bathing or eating, as if his whole heart was with the Sikhs He got all the wheat-carriers in .he country, loaded them with immense display with about one-fourth of what they would carry, put placards in "*Gurmukhi*" on their necks to the effect that they were carrying supplies from Gulab Singh, so that the army and the country might imagine that incessant and enormous supplies were being forwarded to the stalwart and devoted Khalsa by their loyal and affectionate friend.[15] But before his active participation in the battle he decided to await the result of the struggle, knowing well, that, whatever result followed, his position was a safer one.[16] He knew that "the Sikh oligrachy hoped for the destruction of the unruly democratic Khalsa, which was trying to take over the State.[17] He had therefore expected, sympathetic though he was, "that the Sikh army would be destroyed by their powerfui opponents then he could safely step in as a mediator between the British and the Sikhs. The Raja therefore tarried but the repeated demand of the Sikh army that he would join it, obliged him to leave Jammu and proceed to Lahore, but he had determined to keep clear of the struggle untill the onset should show how he was to act.[18] 'I am not going empty handed to great campaign that is to end at Calcutta," gave out Gulab Singh. "When all is ready for campaigning, off I start. This will be a long war", said he, "It is a race to the capital and devil catch the hindmost." Thus he temporised. But he

15. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 269.
16. M'Gregor, *Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 41.
17. Bruce, George, *Six Battles for India*, p. 159.
18. M'Gregor, *Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 42.

held the power to create an insurrection which should have shaken the British power more even than the mutiny of 1857. All the protected Sikh States in the Malwa, Nabna, Jhind and Patiala were ready to envelop the British army in case of reverse.[19]

But from the disorganised manner the Sikhs entered war, Gulab Singh could rightly anticipate their defeat. Moreover, he had not been consulted on or taken into confidence in the affair. He, therefore, dallied participation in a war which had almost been lost by the division of loyalties among Sikh chiefs and the lukewarm reluctance of the Khalsa forces. If things had been in his power he would have avoided the situation. "Had Gulab Singh succeeded Jawaheer Singh," observes M'Gregor, "he would have used his best endeavours to prevent a collision between the Sikhs and the British.[20] So he had not approved of the Sikh action in being first to break the treaty of 1809 by crossing the Sutlej. He knew the ill intentions of the Rani Jindan and courtiers in inciting the army for a war but he had not expected the army to precipitate matters. The two consecutive defeats of the Khalsa forces confirmed his suspicions and revealed to him true intentions of the rulers of Lahore. He had therefore decided to remain neutral, and avoided joining a suicidal war.

However, after Mudki and Ferozeshah even the Rani had implored Gulab Singh to come to Lahore and bring his troops to her aid. He sent evasive answers. After the battle of Aliwal more pressing invitations were sent; he alone, in their opinion, could settle affairs with the English, beeause he had not taken part against them.[21] The Lahore Darbar, k owing "he had not participated in their crimes chose to employ him for a particular object as being the man most acceptable to us (the British)."[22] At this invitation Gulab Singh had found the occasion opportune to return from Jammu to Lahore and was spontaneously hailed as minister and leader at Lahore on the 27th January (1846) to give unity and vigour to the counsels of the Sikhs.[23]

But Gulab Singh came too late ; their fame had reached its height and defeat and subjection speedily overtook them."[24] The next day, on 28 February at Aliwal the British general Harry Smith inflicted a sharp defeat on Ranjodh Singh Majithia and Ajit Singh of Ladwa, both of whom fled the field. Large number of Sikh soldiers were killed fighting, many were drowned in the river. Fifty six guns were lost to the enemy.

19. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 164.
20. M'Gregor, W.L., *History of the Sikhs*, p. 42.
21. Hardinge to Ellenborough (Private) 7 June, 1846 (PRO), 30/12 (21/7). Cf. *Punjab Papers*. Hasrat, p. 95.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 3rd February, 1846.
24. *Cunningham's History of the Sikhs*, p. 275.

The defeat of Aliwal resulted in the evacuation by the Sikh garrison of all the forts hitherto occupied by detachments of Lahore soldiers on this side (south) of the river Sutlej, and the submission of the whole of the territory on the left bank of the river to the British Government."[25]

The defeat of the Sikhs at the very time when they were rejoicing in united councils and exulting in anticipated victory, completely overthrew their whole scheme. Gulab Singh protested publicly in the Darbar against all that had been done. Instead of wasting time and energy in attempting to rally his defeated forces, he upbraided them for the rashness and folly of hoping to overcome the conquerors of India. He accepted the responsibility of attempting a settlement and immediately opened negotiations with the English Commanders."[26]

When the representatives of the Khalsa implored the Raja, whose military skill was considerable, to lead them against the enemy, Gulab Singh is reported to have merely taunted them their stupidity in fighting allies to whom Ranjit Singh had been loyal for more than a quarter of a century.

"I refrained from joining you against the English when you first crossed the Sutlej," he told them, "Why should I help you now when you face certain defeat." When they offered to murder Lal Singh and Tej Singh and make him commander-in-chief instead, he merely laughed at them.[27] He had been pursuaded to come to Lahore to bring about an honourable settlement for the Lahore Government and to salvage it from the impending disruption to which the rebellious soldiery had dragged it. The lawless Khalsa had been destroyed and the object of the Rani and her Government had been satisfactorily achieved. Now they wanted some settlement with the British Government and safegaurd their personal interests and offices. They requested Gulab Singh to undertake this onerous task as he was the only person "acceptable" to the British. He was not expected to lead the Khalsa to victory, as they had already suffered three severel defeats and had been shattered. He would have squeezed out of the British the best terms possible in the circumstances but in the heat of a despaired defeat the Khalsa would not succeed to the extent he had desired.

The defeat of Aliwal had shattered all hopes and Gulab Singh now lost no time in sending a communication to the Governor General which might "lead to overtures for an arrangement." He was to be made minister and "says he is ready to do whatever we (the British Governor-General) like to order."[28]

While negotiating for settlement of the fate of the defeated Lahore

25. The Governor-General of India to the Secret Committee, Camp Kanha Cushwa, February 19, 1846 Despatches and General Orders. p. 88.
26. Hugh Murray, *History of British India*, London, 1862, pp. 642-43.
27. Bruce, George, *Six Battles for India*, p. 174.
28. Lord Hardinge to his wife, 31 January, 1846, Camp Ferozedore.

Government, Oulab Singh had his own interests also in view. The disintegration of Sikh State was imminent and the disbandment of the Khalsa unavoidable as Hardinge had emphasised once more that "It is indispensable that the Sikh army should be disbanded. Their state of anarchy and mutiny is the cause of all the mischief,[29]" and that "the existence of the Sikh army on Republican system cannot be permitted to remain as it is," Gulab Singh therefore, secretly sent his personal physician, a Hindu named Bansider Ghose, to negotiate on his behalf with the British. He is said to have written that he would help the British in their campaign with all means in his power if they would confirm him and his family forever in possession of their present estates and lands ; leave him also in possession of all territories then under his rule "contenting yourselves with a tribute of five annas in every rupee of revemue."

The letter was handed over to Major Henry Lawrence, whose assistant, Lake, wrote in reply ;

"He who wishes to climb the summit of a lofty mountain must start at day break. Should he delay night may close over him ere he had gained the desire of his heart. The treasure which is buried in the depth of mountain will become the prize of that man who is the first to reach its summit."[30]

Athough Hardinge has been reported to have reprimanded Lake for this hasty reply as he was not in favour of committing his Government while hostilities were going on, yet he was by no means displeased that the Lahore Oovernment, in the person of Gulab Singh, was ready to negotiate. "I am obliged to be cold and haughty." Hardinge wrote to his wife, "but propose to allow him to come to propose terms and make a beginning.[31] Hardinge felt that to defeat the Sikhs at Sobraon, cross the Sutlej, lay sieze to Lahore, Amritsar, Multan and Peshawar was a task full of grave risks, especially in the approaching hot weather. Involvement in such a protracted campaign might also disturb India's political calm. Moreover, the Sikh force at Sobraon could not be destroyed by one defeat ; and Gulab Singh might well become a leader of all the desperate chiefs in the Punjab.

Negotiation with Gulab Singh were therefore opened. It was clear to him that provided the Khalsa was disbanded or greatly reduced in strength, Sikh sovereignty in Lahore would still be acknowledged. Gulab Singh was satisfied at the prospect of an honourable settlement which could also bring credit to his statesmanship in case he could buy off British withdrawal after receiving some war indemnity or disbanding some Sikh forces. He therefore, ordered the Khalsa at Sobraon to

29. Quoted by George Bruce in *Six Battles for India*, p 174.

30. Lieufemant Edwards Lake, Political Assistant to Maj. H. Lawrence at Ludhiana to Governor-General. Cf. *Gulabnama*, p. 328, where name of Gulab Singh's messenger is given as Nandgir.

31. Lord Hardinge to his wife, 31 January, 1846, Camp Ferozepore.

withdawn north across the Sutlej, into Lahore territory. His order caused much uncertainty and low morale, and it was not obeyed. The soldiery once again disobeyed civil and diplomatic authority and ultimately brought about the doom of the Lahore State. Gulab Singh's advice and order was disregarded. He was expected to settle terms for the Lahore State without of course the obedience of military force with which instrument diplomats see their views through.

With much of the Sikh force intact, which was later destroyed at Subraon, Gulab Singh could bring into play his subtle diplomacy to keep the British confined to the South of the Sutlej and contented to receive an indemnity and formal supplication of amensty. Immediately after Aliwal, and in anticipation of a speedy settlement now when Gulab Singh had arrived on the secne, Hardinge had welcomed his moves and had not envisaged to annex any part of Lahore Kingdom north of Sutlej. On that occasion Hardinge had only found it indispensable that the Sikh Army should be disbanded. Their State of anarchy and mutiny is the cause of all the mischiefs[32] he believed. He was not in favour of conquest of any part of the Sikh Kingdom "as India was already so over-grown and large that we do not want territoryt We shall keep what we have confiscated on this side, make them pay expenses of the war, clip their wings and lessen their power, but I have always been averse to annex territory and I still hope to keep up a Sikh nation, that is a Hindoo people as contradistishguished from the Muhammadan."[33]

Hardinge was also not ignorant of the fact that if Gulab Singh chose to lead the Sikhs in war his skill and capacity might have protracted the war. Gulab Singh who had not desired for himself an independent kingdom at that time and "was still more desirous of becoming the acknowledged minister of dependent Punjab,"[34] did not like the reckless Sobraon. He hoped to squeeze out honourable terms for the Khalsa from the British Governor General. But the impatient soldiery disdained all diplomacy, and had lost all faith in their leaders whom they had not only disobeyed but even molested and persecuted oftenly. The matters therefore, verged on disaster, and the armies of Lahore which had in a surprise thrust, advanced only 15 miles into the British territory retraced back all the dustance, mnssed on the left bank of the Sutlej for a final showdown, which came on 10th Febuary, 1846,

Gulab Singh however, had not come to lead the Sikh army in a battle. He had been appointed Wazir by the chiefs and people when danger pressed them". Rani Jindan had sent for him "from Jammu and entrusted him with the task of negotiating with the British.[35]" He had not "appeared on the scene ostensively on behalf

32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Cunningham's History of the Sikhs*, pp. 286-87.
35. Khushwant Singh, *Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, p. 106.

of the Lahore Darbar and entdred into negotiations with the British[36], on his own accord.

"Gulab Singh refused to forward provisions or gun powder to the army at Sobraon and opened communications with the governor-general, Lord Hardinge.[37] He had been called upon to salvage the Khalsa Kingdom, from the peril to which it had fallen due to the obstinacy of its soldiery, and was not expected to win a lost war. He had tried to keep back the Khalsa from falling into the futility of another battle and extract the most favourable terms for his oppressors. But in the heat of defeats the army listened to no prudent advice. On the 10th February the British charged the Sikh entrenchments from three sides. Tej Singh fled across the pontoon bridge and had it destroyed. The soldiers fought desperately and bravely under the dauntless Sham Singh Attariwala, but were routed. Many were killed, and many more drowned in the swirling waters of the Sutlej. Nearly 10,000 soldiers lost their lives in the action. All their guns were either captured or abondoned in the river.

It was a complete and crushing defeat[38] at which the populace of Lahore expressed their exultation by deriding the defeated soldiers as they had been pleased at the prospect of relief from the obsessions of lawlessness characterised by the term "Sikh anarchy." The remains of Sikh under Sardar Tej Singh and Raja Lal Singh on retiring from Sobraon entrenched at Raibam, about eighteen miles east of Lahore. They were variously estimated at from 14,000 to 20,000, one horse and foot, with about thirty-five guns. They had been positively ordered by Raja Golab Singh to remain stationary.[39] The war of a self-willed and self-seeking army thus ended in an ingominous defeat and disaster after five desperately fought out battles from 18th December. 1845 to 10th February, 1846. Now the helpless diplomat was left with difficult and delicate task of rectifying the damage done to the Lahore State by lawless "*burchas*' who had at last learnt the benefit of showing respect and obedience to the civil authority. But it came about too late. Had it occured before Sobraon, it would have made a difference.

To Gulab Singh's overtures for safeguarding his personal interests in the event of the falf of Lahore Kingdom, Governor-General had given uncommittal replies, but at the same time he referred to his proclamation which assured consideration to those who did not participate in hostilities against the British. Hardinge was apprehensive of Gulab Singh's attitude and was afraid lest he should throw in his weight on the side of the Sikhs in which case the results could be disasterous. To secure the continuation of his neutrality, Hardinge committed himself to the interests of Gulab Singh. He had been told

36. Ganda Singh, *Anglo-Stkh Wars*, p. 97.
37. Khushwant Singh, *The Fall of the Kingdom of Punjab*, p. 106.
38. Khushwant Sihgh, *A Hist. of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 53.
39. Governor-General to Secret Committee, 19th February, 1846-BISL (I).

by Major Lawrence a week before the battle of Sobraon, on the third of February, that "we appeciated his wisdom in not having taken up arms against us, and that his interests would be taken into consideration."[40]

Thus the Governor-General did all that was honourably possible "to keep Gulab Singh and his over-rated Rajput levies neutral,[41]" and he admitted that "Gulab Singh's neutrality was most valuable before I crossed the river Sultej."[42]

When the news of the defeat of the Khalsa reached Lahore the Rani and the Darbar urged Raja Gulab Singh to proceed immediately to the British camp, to beg pardon in the name of the Darbar and the Sikh Government and endeavour to negotiate some arrangements for the preservation of the country from utter ruin. Before he undertook this mission, the Raja stipulated that the Darbar, the Chiefs, army officers and the '*Panchayats*" should sign a solemn declaration that they would abide by such terms as he might determine on with the British Government." This is said to have been immedately acceded to.[43]

On the night of 12 Februay the advance guard of the British army camped among the ruined domes and fallen arches of the old town of Kasur. Hardinge had meantime sent a note to Gulab Singh, to present himself for negotiations at once if Ranjit Singh's kingdom was to survive as an independent state.[44] Hardinge had also reached Kasur on th 14th Gulab Singh arrived promptly the next day, the 15th February, accompanied by Diwan Dina Nath, Fakir Nurud-Din and Sultan Muhammad Khan in the Governor-General's camp with full credentials from the Maharaja, and empowered to agree in the name of the Maharaja and the Government to such terms as Hardinge might dictate [45]

When Gulab Singh, accompanied by Sultan Muhammad Khan and several influential Sardars, met Hardinge, the latter explained him and his colleagues that the offence which had been committed was most serious and the conduct of the chiefs and the army was most unwarrantable. He, however, admitted that he "recognised the wisdom, purdence and good feelings evinced by him in having kept himself separate from these unjustifiable hostilities of Sikhs. He also expressed his willingness to make his sense of that conduct in the proceedings which were to be carried through.[46]

40. Hardinge to Ellenborough (Private) 7 June, 1846-EP (PRO), 30/12 (21/7) Punjab Papers, Hasrat, p 95.
41. Thorburn, S.S., *The Punjab in Peace and War*, p. 62.
42. Hardinge to Ellenborough (Private), 21 June, 1846, EP (PRO) 30/12 (21/7).
43. Governor-General to Secret Committee, Camp Kanha Cuchwa, 19 February, 1846-BISL (I).
44. Bruce, George, *Six Battles for India*, London, 1969, p. 191.
45. Hasrat, *Punjab Papers*, pp. 141-43, Governor-General to Secret Committee, 19 Feb., 1846.
46. Hasrat, *Punjab Papers*, pp. 14I-43, Governor-General to Secret Committee, 19 Feb., 1846.

On his arrival at Kasur, Hardinge had prepared for circulation, a proclamation declaratory of his present views and intentions with regard to the Punjab. A translation of the same was given to Raja Gulab Singh and his colleagues.[47] This proclamation had clearly laid down that the occupation of the Punjab by the British forces will not be relinquished "until ample atonement for the insult offered to the British Government" shall have been exacted. These objects will include full indemnity for all expenses incurred during the war. It also declared in equivocal terms that "the Government of India will, under any circumstances, annex to the British provinces, the districts, hill and plain situated between the river Sutlej and Beas "[48] The chiefs remained the greater part of the night in conference with chief secretary to Government and Major Lawrence and before they separated a paper was signed by them conceeding all the demands. The terms demanded and conceded were the surrender of the territory, hill and plain, lying between the Sutlej and Beas rivers, the payment of one and a half crores of rupees as indemnity, the disbondment of the present Sikh army and its reorganisation on the basis of pay which obtained in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and limiting the extent of the force to be henceforth employed. It was also agreed to surrender all the guns that had been pointed against the British. The entire regulation and control of the both banks of the river Sutlej was also given over to the victors.[49]

Gulab Singh played his part dexterously in conducting the negotiations. He protested against the imposition of large indemnity. He came out several times to consult his companions on all vital points of settlement which had to be considered in the light of the principles already determined by the victors in the proclamations. As a result of this protest, the indemnity demanded by the victors was reduced from two crores to rupees one crore and a half.[50] Gulab Singh's whole-hearted endeavours, as being the mediator between the falling State of Lahore, and the victorious Governor-General of India, were directed towards maintaining the prestige and honour of the former. Therefore, not a moment was to be lost in adopting measures for retarding the progress of the British army towards Lahore ; for then the Raja's position might probably not be an enviable one ; at least it would not be so agreeable as he desired.[51] He had accordingly proceeded with all expedition towards Kasur, to endeavour, if possible to arrest the progress of the Governor-General. Everybody at Lahore had expected a British attack on Lahore and a total disruption of the Sikh State. Gulab Singh's first endeavour was to avert this calamity. He, therefore, went to Kasur with all the preparations for the continuation of a war and to negotiate from the position of confidence, if not of strength. The

47. *Despatches and General Orders,* The Governor General of India to Secret Committee, dated 19 Feb., 1846.
48. *Despatches and General Orders,* pp 137-40.
49. Hasrat, *Punjab Papers,* pp. 141-43.
50. *Gulabnama,* Eng. trans., pp. 316-17.
51. M'Gregor, W.L. History of the Sikhs, II, pp. 201-2.

remains of Sikh army under Sardar Teja Singh and Raja Lal Singh on retiring from Sobraon had encamped at Riabam, about 18 miles east of Lahore. They were variously estimated at from 14,000 to 20,000 one horse and foot with about thirty-five guns. They had been positively ordered by Raja Gulab Singh to remain stationary.[52] The Raja had himself moved from Jammu to direct affairs at Lahore. He went to meet Major Lawrence at Kasur. He was accompanied by this troops and his artillery commander, Alexander Gardner. "I had about 500 men, writes Gardner," Gulab Singh some 2000, and 20,000 or 30,000 men within hail. Now here were the Sikhs ctossing at Hari-Ka-Ghat and the British at Kasur who were therefore in a most critical position, as they were between the Sikh and Dogra armies. Of course Gulab Singh had a double move and Lawrence seemed to be anxious at the military mistake of moving the British army between one strong, thongh beaten, force and another fresh in body and of a doubtful course of policy.[53] Gulab Singh was certainly conscious of this position and was the last man not to exploit it. J. D. Cunningham records that "at Kasur he (Gulab Singh) had said the way to carry on a war with the English was to leave the sturdy infantry entrenched and watchcd, and to sweep the open country with cavalry to the gates of Delhi."[54] The strategy implied in Gulab Singh's threat was exactly the one against which Hardinge had already received a caution. He had received a letter from the Duke of Wellington in which he had urged "most strongly to look after Delhi, reinforce its garrison and watch all roads leading to it, for the Sikhs would certainly make for it, and if it fell into their hands, the place would, from the prestige attending its name become at once a rallying point for the disaffected all over India, and the result might be most disastrous."[55]

But as the Sikh command and the Lahore courtiers were not anxious to win the war——"It by no means being the intention of the regency that their troops should be successful, but on the contrary, be destroyed by the British, so as to get rid of them forever."[56] Hence there was no question of following such a strategy. But now when Gnlab Singh was at the helm of affairs at Lahore he could exploit all the weak points in case he was provoked to join arms with the Khalsa. His influence with the Sikh forces and his own wealth both in treasures and munitions of war, rendered him still formidable should he be driven by the exacting demands of his conquerors to fall back on the support of the Sikhs.[57] The State of anxiety for the British was not yet over. The tidings of the disasters which befell the British particularly at Buddowal, were still circulating all over the country. Rumours of the most

52. Governor General to Secret Committee, Camp Kanha Cushwa, 19 Feb., 1846-BISL (I).

53. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, pp. 270-71.

54. *Cunningham's History af the Sikhs*, pp. 287-88.

55. Edwardes, W., *Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian*, p. 41.

56. Edwardes, W., *Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian*, p. 97.

57. Murray, Hugh, *History of British India*, 1862 (London), p. 653.

alarming and disastrous character now began to circulate. It was reported that both the Governor. General and Commander-in Chief had been killed, our (British) army annihilated and the Sikhs in full march on Delhi."[58] It was feared that the protected cis-Sutlej Sikh States, would rise against the English and throw in their lot with the Khalsa soldiers. "The wildest rumours prevailed as to the results of the campaign itself, due in part to severe straits in which the British found themselves during earlier stages of the war."[59] Once, at least, during the conflict they (the Sikhs) were wihin an ace of a victory which would have set all India in a blaze."[60] Though Sikh generals had failed to exploit this situation, yet Gulab Singh held the power, and if compelled, could have used it to "create an insurrection which would have shaken the British power more even than the mutiny of 1857. All the protected States in the Malwa, Nabha, Jhind, and Patiala were ready to envelop the British army in case of a reverse."[61] Every State, more expecially euery Hindu State, disseffected towards British rule had looked to the Sikh rising with the hope that at last a Hindu army had appeared which might drive back the English.[62]

Gulab Singh was not slow in capitalising out of these apprehensions of the British Governor-General and his assistants. His military powers and diplomatic skill was well-known to them. His preparedness to court the perils when his views and desires were not given due consideration were all too well-known to the British to ignore him. Particularly whlle negotiations were still pending and the season advancing it was desired to conciliate one who might render himself formidable in a day, by joining the remains of the Sikh forces, and by opening his treasures and arsenals to a war-like population.[63] As early as the third of February, Governor-General's political agent, Major Lawrence, had in written document, told him "that we appreciated his wisdom in not having taken up arms against us, and that his interests would be taken into consideration."[64] Gulab Singh had, since Sikh attack on Jammu in January, 1845, made several overtures to the British in anticipation of break up of the Lahore Kingdom and its annexation by the British, offered to transfer his allegiance to them in return for confirmation of all territories in possession of his family. The Sikh defeat would necessarily lead to the end of Ranjit's kingdom, that was what could be reasonably expected. But when the British Governr-General announced his willingness to suffer the existence of a dwarfed Sikh kingdom at Lahore under their protection Gulab Singh was pleased to aspire for the office of Prime Minister of Lahore. In the opinion of Gulab

58. Edwardes, W., *Reminiscences af a Bengal Civilian*, p. 84.
59. Gough and Innes, *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*, p. 145.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
61. Pearse, Hugh, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 270.
62. Gough and Innex, *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars*, p 145.
63. *Cunningham's History of the Sikhs*, p. 288.
64. Hardinge to Ellenboroug (Private), 7 June, 1846 See Bikramkit Hasrat, *Punjab papers*, p. 95.

Singh'sgreatest critic J, D. Cunningham, he was "still more desirous of becoming the acknowledged minister of the dependent Punjab," and that "the overtures of the Raja-after the battle of Aliwal had foreboded the total rout of the Sikh army—were all made in the hope of assuring to himself a virtual viceroyalty over the whole dominion of Lahore."[65] Even when the Britsh Government had openly decided to instal him as Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir "his separation was less in accordance with his own aspiration than the ministry of Ranjit's empire."[66] Howevr, the Brstish Governor-General had his own plans of weakening and partitioning the Lahore Kingdom, and thereby appearing Gulab Singh by making him the master of one portion.

During the negotiations Gulab Singh's honest endeavour was, if possible to arrest the advance of the Governor-General on Lahore ; but his intentions and hopes were doomed to meet with disappointment' for the Governor-General indignatly refused to listen to any arrangement, which would prevent him from sealing under the walls of Lahore, any treaty that might be made. The Raja was alarmed at the posture of affeirs and determined on bringing the young Maharaja Dalip Singh to meet the Governor-General.

Three days later, Maharaja Dalip Singh was escorted by Gulab Singh Dogra and Bhai Ram Singh to the British camp at Lalliani to tender submission to the British Governor-General. Gulab Singh acted as Master of Ceremonies for the Governor-General's Darbar. "Gulab Singh's oriental form of expression was rather fine," wrote General Hope Grant who was present at the meeting "If, said Gulab Singh, my son or dearest friend' were taken ill, I shonld immediately send for the most eminent physician, and throw the sufferer into his hands, request his advice, und make the patient swallow the physic prescribed. I now place the Maharaja in the hands of the Governor-General as that skilful physician. I know everything he will do with regard to him will be for the best and for his advantage."[67]

Thus the submission was tendered and the pardon of the British Government was requested, the Governor-General treated the Maharaja as a prince restored to the friendship of the British Government. The next morning the Governor-General accompanied him to Lahore and reached there on the 20th February.

On the restoration of young Dalip Singh to the head of the government, Gulab Singh was appointed Wazir or prime minister.[68] He had already negotiated terms for a settlement at Kasur, leading to the Treaty of Lahore on 9 March, 1846. By the terms of the Taeaty the Darbar was compelled to give up the Jalandhar Doab, pay a war

65. *Cunningham's History of Sikhs*, pp. 286-87.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 288.
67. M'Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 208.
68. Clause 12 of the Treaty of Lahore, 9 March, 1846, see Appendix.

indemnity of 1½ crores of rupees, and reducee the army to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. The Treaty also included an important stipulation that Maharaja Dalip—Singh "hereby agrees to recognise the independent sovereignty of Gulab Singh, in such territories as may be made over to the said Raja Gulab Singh by a separate agreement between himself and the British Government with dependencies there of which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh."

Though it was not immediately revealed to the public it was at this juncture, as betrayed by this clause, that the British authorities devised this scheme by which they in due course would assist Gulab Singh to acquire Kashmir and other hill territories. Hardinge, who had previously informed Peel of his resolve to make Jammu independent of Lahore, convinced that the financially bankrupt Sikh Government would be unable to pay sitpulated indemnity, obviously planned to manoeuvre Lahore into surrendering Kashmir and hill territories as compensation and in turn to transfer them to Gulab Singh.[69]

As Hardinge anticipated the Darbar was unable to pay the full war indemnity and two thirds of the indemnity could not be realised. The Lahore Darbar instead ceded the hill territories between the Beas and the Indus, including Kashmir and Hazara. A week later, on 16 March, 1846 the British signed a "separate agreement with Gulab Singh and transferred to him" all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul[70], for 75 lakhs of rupees, "and to mark our (British) sense of Raja Gulab Singh's conduct during the late operations. by regarding him in the mode most in accordance with his ambitious desires."[71]

The Sikhs reacted venomously and expressed their bitter resentment over this arrangement and once more unsuccessful attempts were made on the Raja's life. Rani Jindan dismissed him from *wazarat* and resinstated Lal Singh.[72] In an angry letter to Henry Lawrence, she warned that if Kashmir were given to Gulab Singh she will appeal directly to Queen Victoria.[73] The vindictive Rani and her new Wazir also endeavoured to nullify the Raja's power by offering his territory to the British as reparation for the indemnity. Gnlab Singh found this a pretext for breaking off his relation with Lahore.

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69. Bawa Satinder Singh, *Jummu Fox*, p. 116.
70. *Treaty of Amritsar*, March 16, 1846, Article I. See Appendix.
71. *Governor-General's Despatch to Secret Committee*, of March 4, 1846.
72. *R.N. Cust Paper 'p* 76 European MS. in 101. Cust an assistant to Lawrence claimed to have witnessed an attempt by unknown snipers to kill Gulab Singh on Feb. 24. C. Hardinge, Viscount Hardinge, pp. 138-39 also refers to a conspiracy by Lal Singh to murder the Raja.
73. *Gulabnama*, Eng. Trans. by Dr. Charak, 1977.

This (offer) appears to have alarmed Gulab Singh exceedingly and he openly declared that they might manage their affairs as they pleased he would have no further concern with them—that he should take his departure and make his own terms with the British.[74]

Gulab Singh was invested with the title of Maharaja on March 15, 1846, and the Treaty of Amritsar between him and the Brittsh Government was signed the next day. But a portion of the territory first proposed to be ceded to him was resumed and the payment accordingly reduced. The country between the Ravi and the Indus was then transferred to him on the payment of £ 750,000. The liquidation was made easy by his being considered the heir to the treasnre of Suchet Singh found at Ludhiana and estimated at 15,00,000 rupees.[75] The territory finally transferred to him included Kashmir, the portion of hill country to the south between Ravi and Indus and Ladakh and Gilgit, with Baltistan and Indus Valley to Chitral. A special clause in the Treaty imposed upon Raja Gulab Singh the obligation to respect the rights of the disapossessed chiefs and the Rajas under the guarantee of the British Government whereby cash allowances were asigned to them in perpetuity.

Chamba, west of the Ravi, and Hazara, were included in the terrtories transferred to Gulab Singh. But an arrangment was made by Sir Henry Lawrence by which, in 1847. Gulab Singh got Lakhanpur on the Ravi and Bhadarwa, in lieu of chamba.[76] Finding it difficult to control Hazara, Gulab Singh in 1847 approached the Sikh Darbar with a proposition of exchange. His request was granted through the good offices of the British Government and the *ilaqas* of Manawar, Garhi, etc., were given to him in exchange.[77] In 1847 a settlement was affected between Gulab Singh and the Hill Rajas, under guarantee of British Government. which took the form of an assignment to them of certain cash allowances which amounted to Rs. 42,800. The Government of India took over from Gulab Singh the districts of Sujanpur, part of Patbankot, and certain lands between the Chakki and Beas rivers, as a set off against charges on account of the maintenance of some hill Chiefs who had removed from Kashmir into British territory.[78] The boundary of Jammu and Kashmir was thus finally laid after these and several other minor adjustments.

The Treaty also bound Gulab Singh "to join with the whole of his military force the British troops when employed within the hills. or in territories adjcining his territories." On their part "the British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his tearitories from external enemies." The sum of seventy-five lakhs of

74. The Treaties of Lahore 'in the Times, May 25, 1846, p. 8.
75. Cunningham, J.D., *op. cit.*, pp. 262-63.
76. Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence to the Governor-General, 22nd November, 1847.
77. Procoedings (Roburkaree) of Agent, Governor-General, North-West Frontier and Resident at Lahore, the matter of the exchange of the country of Hazara, May 1, 1847.
78. Aitchison, C.U., *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*. Vol. 10.

rupees was to be paid in two instalments, "fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this treaty and twenty-five lacs on or before the Ist October of the current year, A. D. 1846." But we find that only first instalment and about 15,00,000 of the second were paid by the 14th April, 1847. The last instalment, however was paid into the Lahore treasury as late as 15th March, 1850.[79]

Finally, Gulab Singh was to "present annualy to British Government one horse, twelve perfect Shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Chshmere Shawl" as tribute.

Thus Gulab Singh's efforts fructified in the formation of the new Jammu and Kashmir State. The political consciousness of the region of Jammu, which had found expression in a long string of names of its rulers in the *Vansavali*, and was further deepened by the efforts of Dhruv Dev and Ranjit Dev, found its ultimate fulfilment. Gulab Singh's latest ambition had been positively anticipated by the British agent who informed Ellenborough as early as April, 1844 that in the event of an Anglo Sikh war Gulab Singh would probably align himself with the British, but he would in return, want to "be recognised as the independent soverign of Peshawar and Cashmeer and also the Hill States between the Indus and the Sutlej.[80] Gulab Singh managed to materialise his ambition without, however, aligning himself with the British, by sheer diplomatic moves and dexterous handling of events to his benefit a realistic trait of personality in which he equalled the top-ranking British and Indian diplomats of his time. Like a practical statesmen, following a ruthless, Kautillyan political ethics, he had the nack to read the spirit of the time and the necessities of his rivals and to make the maximum out of these. Whether it was the disintegrating condition of Lahore Kingdom, or the need of the British power in India, these served Gulab Singh's ends exactly as he had calculated these to fetch him political distinction, and to talk about the want of potriotism or treachery of Gulab Singh—the last of a Sikh murdered family— is worse than idle."[81] Similarly to talk in terms of sale and purchase of Kashmir is to ignore the nature of treaties and politics, as the transaction included "all the hilly or mountainous country eastward of the Indus and westward of the Ravi, "including Jammu, Chamba and Ladakh, and not only Kassmir. Moreover, in the words of a contemporary observer; Gulab Singh has as undoubted a right to purchase, as they (the British) to sell it. In exchange for a crore of rupees they took it ; and in exchange for a crore of rupees they parted with it again."[82]

79. See Appendix. Final Receipt for the Purchase of Kashmir, 1850 signed by the Board of Administration.

80. Richmond to Currie, April 3, 1844, Sec. Deptt., "Enclosures to secret letters from India MSS. in India Office Library, London, Vol. 96, acc. 22, letter 23.

81. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VI, 1846, pp. 300-01.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

CHAPTER FOURTEENTH

Conclusion

A bird's eye view of the by-gone annals of the Jammu Raj reveal the romance of the struggle of a small principality against heavy odds arrayed all around it. A fresh crop of enemies of the Raj appeared on the scene with succeeding ages and sought to devour this small principality ruled over from different capitals according to the convenience of the age. It was in the last quarter of the fourteenth century that Jammu town became the capital of the Dogra principality and continued so thereafter in face of great odds. The annals of the country are strewn with the cemetaries of numberless principalities which came into existence and disappeared during the long past centuries. Out of this political cataclysm which history records, the survival of the Dogra Raj of Jammu is no short of a miracle and informs us of the sagacity of its rulers and the valour of its people who braced all those odds and not only maintained the existence of the state but won for it the undisputed politcal leadership of the region which culminated in the formation of Jammu and Kashmir state. Some of its ancient rulers had established a small kingdom in this region in the shadow of tribal invasions and alien domination. They thus initiated the tradition of a Durgara or Dogra Raj in these hills as early as the tenth century, which in due course of time became dominated by Jammu. Rajas Bhoj Dev, Mal Dev and Bhim Dev in the middle ages and Ranjit Dev and Gulab Singh in modern times—had been inspired by the same urge of building and reviving the Dogra Raj which arose and fell from time to time during a long sequence of centuries.

Like several other political units of India, Jammu also experienced ups and downs in the political arena of the country many times, before its emergence as the leader of the traditional twenty-two hill states and one of the decisive factors in the Punjab politics. This later position it secured due to a few important factors. Situated on the foot-hills, commanding an important entrance to the mountain fastnesses along the Tawi valley, it controlled the safest and most frequented trade route from Delhi to Kashmir, Afghanistan and beyond. This trade route passed through Jammu territories or a codsiderable distance, from Basohli in the east to Rajouri in the west, and was known as early at least as the days of Albiruni. Even in the first quarter of the fifteenth century the kings of Delhi had entrusted the safety of this route to the Rajas of Jammu. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh became the master of Kashmir, he also entrusted the safety of

vital line of commnnication to *Gulab Singh* by the *sanad* of 1820. Jammu city itself was one of the important markets and caravan camps on this trade route.

The economic prosperity of Jammu is attributabie to another factor also. No other principality of this region possessed as much fertile cultivable land as Jammu. The plain, fertile country skirting the Jammu hills in the south, from the *Chenab* to the *Jhelam*, a length of over 250 Kilometres, has been the most productive part of the territories possessed by the *Dogra* principalities This fertile area produced a variety of crops and addel a considerable revenue to the Jammu exchequer. All other principalities were confined mostly to the dry and rugged hills scantily populated, whereas the arable territory in possession of Jammu held a sizeable population, which in turn added to its strength and prosperity. In former times the strength and power of states mostly depended on these two factors, and these helped Jammu attain preeminence among all Hill principalities lying between the Ravi and the Jhelum. Thus the foctors which helped Jammu emerge as the hub of the economy of this region also assured her ultimate political supermacy.

The relative security conferred on the Jammu region by geography was also an asset. It is situated on the spurs of hills extending towards the plains of the Punjab and has high hills, fertile valleys and dense jungles in its rear. Wealthy people naturally sought shelter here and political power could steadily grow in its protective environment. In this protected and safe region flourished trade and commerce, and evolved the famous *Dogra* schools of miniature paintings —Basohli. *Ramanagar*, *Jasrota*, *Jammu*, etc.—adding more feathers to its cap.

Even in the later medieval period Jammu territories had constanly been ruled by the kings of an old royal dynasty, and the dynastic changes at Delhi or Lahore had little effect on the life and aspirations of the people. It simply meant a formal transfcr of allegiance on the part of the Dogra ruler. While the adjoining territories of the Punjab suffered from chaos and invasions, the people of Jammu were usually autonomous and asserted her independence at the first opportunity. This situation enabled its rulers to maintain their self-governing status under all circumstances.

Moreover, at least ten principalities of the 'Duger Group', were branches of the ruling family of Jammu and remained socially subordinate to the former. This had invested these rulers with the spontaneous leadership of a large group of principalities based on the ties of kinship. This privilege greatly helped Jammu in extending its sway over a number of neighbouring principalities such as Bhadarwa Kishtwar and others, with the help of its numerous dependencies. While studying the cause which led to the preeminence of Jammu in the hills, the importance of this single factor will be hard to minimise.

These factors, strengthened by the differences of language and culture with th ir neghbours, have developed in the people of Jammu the consciousness of distinct political identity. Even when it had been annexed to the Mughal, and later, to the Sikh state, her individuality was not lost. Ranjit Singh acknowledged Jammu's separate and distinct existence when he bestowed it as an old and hereditary principality on Gulab Singh in 1822. Thus Gulab Singh became the ruler of the principality which had the reputation of being the leader of the Dugar states, and the capital of the old kingdom. This further helped Jammu in emerging as the premier state in the Dogra hills.

Above everything else, however, it was the fact of personalities and leadership which could exploit the favourable geographical and political factors to the benefit of a state. Without such statesmen, states do not achieve eminence. Jammu Kingdom was fortunate in having a number of great rulers in a span of the latest millenium, and at least three able leaders in a period of about three-quarters of a century in the latest stage who built the greatness of Jammu as an important state.

These were Ranjit Dev, Gulab Singh and General Zorawar Singh. The former chief was famous as a just ruler, possessed of secular ideals. He gave shelter to big and small, irrespective of caste and creed. He was also a great military leader and a wise administrator. He not only conquered Basohli, Akhnur, Rajouri, Bhimber and Chamba, but extended his influence over some other States of Kangra Group. During his reign Jammu acquired considerable power and fame and his friendship was sought by Mughal and Afghan rulers.

Like the Guptas, Ranjit Dev recognised the political importance of matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring ruling houses. He had contracted such relations with the royal houses of Bilawar, Nurpur and Chamba and had thus guided their destinies in the capacity of a big boss. It was he who made Jammu power to reckon with even by the ferocious Sikh Misls.

Gulab Singh, a scion of the junior branch of the Jamwal ruling family, took his queue from Ranjit Dev and aspired to revive the greatness of Jammu Raj with the aid of the sources of Lahore kingdom and his own diplomatic skill. Taking full advantage of the position of Dhian Singh and the confidence which Maharaja Ranjit Singh reposed in him, he conquered Ladakh, Zanskar, Purig, Baltistan and a part of Gilgit, ostensibly for the Sikhs, but in reality for himself. His great general, wazir Zorawar Singh captured and occupied these territories and made these an integral part of the Dogra Kingdom, He thus opened these mountainous regions to the Indians and severed for the future all the political relations of Leh with Lhasa.

Gulab Singh's forward policy in Tibet, however, aroused the bitterest opposition from tha British who henceforth viewed his designs with suspicion and objected to any further addition to his power and possessions. The British, in league with anti-Dogra element of Lahore Court, intrigued to dislodge the Dogras from their position. This led to the assassination of Dhian Singh at the hands of pro-British Sindhanwalia Chiefs and afterwards caused the loss of lives of Raja Hira Singh, Mian Sohan Singh, Pandit Jalla and several other Dogra leaders and soldiers. The fortunes of the Dogras were once again on the decadence. But Gulab Singh extricated the Dogra Raj from these perils by his shrewd diplomacy and political power. His estates were vast and spread from the borders of Tibet and Korakaram pass in the north and north-east to Sialkot and the Jhelam in the south and west. He had encircled Kashmir which he wanted to possess. His prestige as a military commander was indeed great and as a diplomat he was not in any way inferior to the British politicians So, when the Anglo-Sikh War broke out he manipulated the situation to his utmost benefit. The image of his power and prestige which he had projected in the British court helped him achieve his object. The territories of Jammu, Kashmir and Hazara with which the British were yet unacquainted, were given over to Gulab Singh, of which he was recognized 'the Maharaja'. Thus, reposing in the sagacity and power of Gulab Singh, the British Government of India created Jammu and Kashmir State as a buffer State between their Indian Empire on the one side and Afghanistan and Russia on the other, as well as a counterbalance against the surviving Sikh Kingdom of Lahore.

The long string of historical events thus culminated in the formation of a new state in the polity of India and the addition of a large chunk of territory to the Indian continent. These two events speak volumes about the military and political prowess of the Dogras who were the sentinels of the north-western parts of India at least since the invasion of Arabs and the Ghazanavis on Indian frontier in that direction.

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(a) **Documents in Dogri/Takri Script :**

(1) Title deed in Dogri, in whieh Raja Raj Singh of Chamba confers the Pargana of Dhundhi on his wazir Zorawar in recognition of his services in Jundh in connection with the war between Chamba and Basohli which ended with the conquest of latter place by Raj Singh probably in 1783 A.D.

(2) Letter in Takari from Raja Raj Singh of Chamba to Sukhdev Singh, son of Manaku Dev granting him the state of Kishtwar as a jagir dependent on Chamba.

(3) Agreement in Tankari between Raja Raj Singh of Chamba and Fateh Pal of Bhadarwah who is made Raja of that state on certain conditions.

(4) Latter from Raja Brijraj Dev of Jammu to Raja Raj Singh, conveying to him the parganas of Jundh, Bhalai, Bhandal and Kihrar and Diur, on condition of service, dated Sastra 57 (A.D. 1782).

(5) Document stating that Rs. 29,000 had been borrowed from Raja Brijraj Dev of Jamma by Kundan Singh of Kishtwar and Raja Raj Singn became security for its payment. Dated 12th Bhadon, Sastra 57.

(6) Title Deed in Dogri in Tankari characters containing the confirmation as in No. (1) above.

(7) Letter in Tankari from Raja Brijraj Dev of Jammu ordering the officials of Jundh pargana to be obedient to Raja Raj Singh, dated 28th Sawan, Sastra 59 (A.D. 1784).

(8) Sanad in Tankari from Raja Brijraj Dev to Raja Raj Singh of Chamba, restoring him the pargana of Jundh, Bhalai, Drier, Bhandal and Khir, as having always been of right Chamba territory. Dated 18th Bhadon, Sastra 59 (A.D. 1784-5).

(9) Letter from Raja Brijraj Dev to Raja Raj Singh. Dated 20th Pau. Sastra 59 (A.D. 1784-85).

(10) Letter from Dayapal of Bhadarwah to Raja Raj Singh acknowledging allegiance and to fulfil certain promises.

(11) Letter from Bhup Chand of Bhadarwah to Raja Raj Singh stating that he had taken over Bhadarwah and tried to make friends with Daya Pal, but Daya Pal would not accept his advice.

(12) Letters from Fateh Pal of Bhadarwah to Raja Raj Singh owing allegiance to Chamba. Dated 22 Chet, Sastra 60.

(13) Letter from Bhao Singh of Bhadarwah to Raja Raj Singh. Dated Sastla 81 (A.D. 1786-87).

(14) Letter in Tankari from camp of Chamba army that invaded Kishatwar in A.D. 1786.

(15) Friendly letter in Tankari from Raja Jit Singh of Jammu to Raja Jit Singh of Chamba.

(16) Letter from Raja Tegh Singh of Kishtwar promising allegiance to Chamba. Dated 12 Jeth, Samvat 77 (A.D. 1801).

(17) Letter from Raja Jit Singh of Chamba to Raja Tegh Singh of Kishtwar, suggesting to help each other in case either of them was iuvaded by a third party. Dated 1st of Jeth, Saetra 79 (A.D. 1804).

(18) Letter from Mian Mahinder Pal of Basohli to Raja Jit Singh (?), making a pact between the two states. Dated 18th of Sawan, Sastra 82.

(19) Letter in Tankari from Mahinder Pal to Raja Jit Singh making a trenty with Chamba. Probable date A.D. 1806.

(20) Copper plate grant issued by Amrit Pal during his occupation of Chamba territory.

(21) Portrait of Amrit Pal of Basohli, which bears inscription in Nagari character.

(22) Letter in Tarkari from Diwan Singh (probably of Jammu) to Raja Jit Singh of Chamba, stating that Nurput, Balor, Jasrota. Mankot, and Chamba with Bhadarwah and Kashtwar are united against Kangra dated 2 Phagon, Sastra 77 (A.D. 1802).

(23) Letter in Tankari from Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu to Raja Charat Singh of Chamba, promising his help in connection with Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur dated 1 Bhadon, Sastra 3 (A.D. 1827).

(24) Letter in Nagari from Amar Singh Thapa and Ranjt Singh to Raja Jit Singh. Jit Singh (?) is sent to Duggar (Jammu) for help. Undated, but probably written between A.D. 1806 and 1809, when the Kangra Valley was occupied by the Gurkhas.

(Copies of the above mentioned documents are in collection of the author).

25. **Brijraj-Panchasika** of Kavi Dev Datt, a martial poem in Braj Bhasha mixed with some verses and words of Dogri, describing invasion of Kangra by Prince Brijraj Dev of Jammu.

(b) Persian documents :

(i) In State Archival Repository, Jammu (SAR-J) :

(1) File No. 1, Persiau Records. *Patta* given by Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah to Rajas Drub Dev Singh, Ranjit Dev and Gujral Dev.

(2) File No. 281 of Samvat 1921, containing a scrap of paper, possibly a note from some history of Akhnur.

(3) File No. 1352 (Vernacular), Table No. 7, 19 (*ii*).

(4) Copy of letter in Persian from G.R. Clerk to Raja Gulab Singh. acknowledging with thanks services rendered by him during the Kabul expedition dated 20th April, 1842.

Persian Records File No. 174 SAR-J.

(5) Coples of letters (Murasilas) from the Panjab Government, addressed to Maharaja Gnlab Singh, Persian, Persian Records File No. 139 for year 1855-56, containing a letter No. B concerning negotiation on Dogra Prisoner in Tibet SAR-J.

(6) *Akhbarat* (Newsletters) of Mirza Saif-ud-Din of Kashmir, an iutelligencer in the pay of tne Britishers, who used to send intelligence from Sirinagar, bound in 13 volumes, folio size. Some of the newsletters refer to the events which occurred before 1846. MSS IN Govt. Research Department Library, Srinagar (GRD-S).

(7) Persian Records. File No. 560, Patta Dated 11 the Rajjal, A.U. 1192, confirming Ranjit Dev's possession on Sialkot territory.

(8) Persian Records Document No. 2, of the year H. 1188, recognising "Raja-i-Rajaha Raja Ranjit Dev" as Raja of Jammu and his allegiance to the throne of Delhi.

(ii) Persian Documents in Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.

(9) Sanad, dated Rajjab, 1211 Hijri (A.D. 1797), issued by Shah Zaman of Kabul to Raja Jit Singh of Chamba, ordering him "to perform the services of the Diwani in union with Raja Sampuran Dev, Raja of Jammu."

(10) Sanad issued by Ahmad Shah Durani to Raja Umed Singh in A.H. 1175/A.D. 1762, mentioning "Raja-i-Rajha Ranjit Dev of Jammu."

(11) C-69 Letter In Persion addressed to Sri Singh of Chamba which also contains a warning against Pandit Jalla Undated. But it must have been written between September 1843 and 21 Dccember, I844.

(12) C-70 letter in Persian from Sir Henry Lawrence to Raja Sri Singh of Chamba, notifying that Chamba State had been included in the territoty transferred to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu. He is enjoined to pay his tribute and render all customary service to Raja Gulab Singh. Dated 16th March, 1846.

(13) C-71. Letter in Persian to Raja Sri Singh notifying that Chamba has come under the control of the British Government. Dated 29th Phagun, V.S. 1902 (A.D. 1846).

(iii) Persian Documents in Panjab State Archives, Patiala.

(14) Copy of '*Qabuliat*' signed by Mian Kishore Singh and his three sons accepting jagirs of Jammu, Bhoti, Bandraltn, Chaneni and Kishtwar on certain conditions. Dated 15th Maghar, V.S. 1877 (27th November 1820) Document No. M/503, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

(15) Copy of 'Qabuliat' (Agreement deed) bearing aceeptance by Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh of the Raj of Chakla

Jammu in return for certain conditions. Dated 6th Har, V.S. 1879 (18 June 1822)—Document No. M/504, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

(16) Copy of the deed of agreement signed by Raja Jit Singh the ex-Raja of Jammn, renouncing all his claims to the ancestral principality, in fauour of Raja Gulab Singh and his brothers. Dated 13th Har, V.S. 1879 (25 June 1822)—Documeut No. M/505 Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

(17) Copy of 'Sanad' conferring on Dhian Singh the title of 'Raja' and the 'Raj' of Bhimber aud Chibhal. Dated 7th Har, V.S. 1884 (19 June 1827)—Docoment No. M/507. Punjab State Archives Patiala.

(18) Certified copy of the Deed of Grant, by Maharaja Ranjit Singh granted to Raja Hira Singh the 'Raj' of Jasrota, Besohli, etc. withe the title of Farzand-i-Khas. Dated the 17th Asuj, V.S. 1894 (29 September 1857)—Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

(19) Certified copy of Deed of Affirmation by Maharaja Kharrak Singh of the Punjab confirming all grants of estates, titles and powers, etc. made by his father (Maharaja Ranjit Singh) to Rajas Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh. Dated the 20th Sawan, V.S. 1896 (2 August, 1839)—Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

(20) D/27, M/492: Copy of treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Guiab Singh, coucluded at Amritsar, on the 16th March, 1846.

(21) D/28, M/493 : Certified copy of Award given by the Punjab Board, dated 13th August, 1852, dividing the State of Chibhal between the brothers, Raja Jawahar Singh and Moti Singh Poonch.

(22) D/29, M/494 : Certified copy of Deed dated 1859 by which after transferring Jawahar Singh's territorry to Kashmlr, he was deported to Ambala.

(23) D/31, M/496 : Original Memorial addressad to Governor General of India by Raja Jawahar Singh dated 9-1-1860.

(24) D/33, M/498 ; D/34, M/499 ; D/35, M/500 ; D/36, M/501, copies of letters and testimonials concerning the Poonch affair dispute between Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Rajas of Poonch.

(25) D/56, M/521; Certified copy of a letter from Raja Gulab Singh to Mian Jawahar Singh informing him that he was prepared to give him half of Raja Suchet Singh estates. No date.

(26) D/57, M/522 ; Copy of letter from Raja Gulab Singh to Mian Jawahar Singh asking him to make Raja Hira Singh come to some understanding. Dated 11th Asuj, 1901. (23-9-1844).

(27)-(29) D/58, M/523 ; D/59 M/524 and D/60, M/525 ; Coples of letters written hy Gulab Singh to Mian Jawahar Singh on miscellaneous affairs between Samvat 1901 and 1904.

(30) D/61, M/526 ; Photographed copy of letter from Maharaja Gulab Singh to Mian Jawahar Singh informing him that all mountainous territory from Jasrota to Hazara had been granted to him (Gulab Singh)

prepetually with the title of Maharaja. Dated 7 Chet, 1903 (19-2-1847).

(31) D/62, M/527 : Certified copies of letter from Maharaja Gulab Singh to Mian Jawahar Singh to send immediately with Diwan Loodan Cash of 5 lakhs dated 12 Chet 1902 (24-2-1846).

(32) D/64, copy of the complaint of the Raja of Poonch against Gulab Singh to the Governer General. No Date.

(33) D/67, M/533 : Certified eopy of written statement filed on 24th Besakh, 1905 Bikrami in the court of Agent to Governor General by Maharaja Gulab Singh in the case of the Mians of Poonch.

(34) D/68, M/533, Original latter of Maharaja Gulab Singh to Mian Moti Singh, informing him that there was complete peace and order in Naushera. Dated 11 Maghar 1909 (23-11-1852).

(35) D/69, M/534 : Original letter of Maharaja Gulab Singh to Mian Moti Singh to proceed at once with two Battalions to Naushera. Dated 1st Magh, 1905 (13-1-1859).

(36) D/70, M/535 ; Certified copy of Sanad of Maharaja Gulab Sidgh to Raja Moti Singh giving him the Raj of half the state of Bhimhar and Chibhal. Dated 20th Jeth 1906. Station Anantnag (2 June, 1849).

(37) D/71, M/536 : Original Sanad by Maharaja Gulab Singh taking Raja Moti Singh in his own protection.

(38) D/78, M/540 and D/76, M/541 : Copy of complaints of Raja Jawahar Singh to British officlals about his sufferings at the hands of Maharaja Gulab Singh.

(39) D/78. M/543 : Original letter from Maharaja Gulab Singh to Raja Moti Singh regarding general instructions to administrators concerning administration ; undated,

(C) English Records :

(i) BISL (I)
of 31-12-1845, Hardinge to Secret Committee
of 4-12-1845, Hardinge to Secret Committee
of 19-2-1846, Govr-Genl to Secret Committee

(2) Despatches and General Orders, reprint Patiala, 1970.

(3) Foreign Miscellaneous, Vols. Nos. 125, 334 and 335.

(4) Hasrat, *Punjab Papers* :
30/12 (21/7), 7 June, 1846, Harding to Elenborough
30/12 (21/7), 21 June, 1846 -do-

(5) A Journey to Kashmir, Fng. MSS No. M/480, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

(6) News letters, Vols. I-V, April 1839 to March 1842.
These are precis of intelligence received from countries in the Western Parts of India and Kabul—(Vol. Nos. 331-35).

(7) *Old Records in the Punjab Secretariate* (*ORPS*), *Lahore*, Vol. VI, 1831-40, Vol. VII, 1840-1845. Printed Lahore, 1915.

159/63, of 29-11-1844, Richmond to Currie
160/25, of 13-8-1844, Richmond to Currie
Letter No. 37 of 11-2-1845, Broadfoot to Currie.
164/41 of 25-1-1845 /do/
164/45 of 11-2-1845 /do/
164/51 of 11-2-1845 /do/
164/45 of 4-2-1845 -do-
164/47 of 5-2-1845 -do-
165/1 of 23-8-1845 -do-
VII, 167/31 of 18-9-1845 Broadfoot to Currie.
167/34 of 22-9-1845 -do-
135/107 of 2-10-1845 Edwardes to Broadfoot.
VII, 167/36 of 6-9-1845. Broadfoot to Currie.

(8) Political, Secret Proceedings and Consultations, Foreign Department. 1834-1848, National Archives, Lahore, 1915.

(9) Punjab Akhbars, of 8-1-1844 NAI.
Punjab Akhbarat,

Confidential reports in English of the Governor-General's Political Agens at Ludhiana, on important events etc (Vol. No. 89).

(10) P.G.R. 151/33 of 7-5-1841, Clerk to Maddock.
159/92 of 3-6-1844, Richmond to Currie
163/68 of 25-9-1843, Maharaja Dalip Singh to Richmond.
158-11-117 of 20-9-1843, Richmond to Thomason.
159/52 of 8-4-1844, Richmond to Currie
158/128 of 25-9-1843, Richmond to Thomason.
158/131 of 2-10-1843, Richmond to Thomason.
158/11/174 of 12-12-1843, Richmond to Currie.
159/41 of 23-3-1844, Richmond to Currie.
158/11/169 of 28-11-1843, Richmond to Currie.
158/162 of 16-11-1143 Richmond to Currie.
Tarikh-Namah, Vol. I.
159/43 of 29-3-1844, Richmond to Currie.
160/25 of 13-8-1144 Richmond to Currie.
160/76 of 30-10-1844 Richmond to Currie.
159/95 of 14-9-1844 ,,
160/48 of 10-9-1844 ,,
164/3 of 13-11-1844 Broadfoot to Currie.

159/63 of 20-4-1844 Richmond to Currie.
30/12 (28/12), PRO, of 9-6-1844.
164/31 of 7-1-1845, Broadfoot ta Currie.
135/1/8 of 13-1-1845 Currie to Broadfoot.
164/24 of 27-12-1844 Broadfoot to Currie.
164/25 of 30-12-1844 -do-
164/36 of 18-1-1845 -do-
161/40 of 22-1-1845 -do-
164/47 of 5-1-1845 -do-
164/47 of 5-2-1845 -do-

(11) PRO, London :
30/12 (28/12) of 15-2-1844, Ellenborough to Wellington.
30/12 (28/11) of 16-2-1844, Ellenborough to Queen.
30/12 (21/7) of 20-2-1845, Hardinge to Ellenborough
30/12 (21/7) of 7-6-1846 -do-
30/12 (21/7) of 2-7-1845 -do-
30/12 (21/7) of 23-10-1845,

(12) Punjab Government Records, Vol. VI, Lahore Political Diaries, 1847-49.

(13) Punjab Government Recotd Office Monograph No. 17 : Events at the Court of Sirdar Ranjit Singh (1810-1817), Lahore, 1935.

(14) Punjab Intelligence.

Abstracts of intelligence reports seut by the Agent, Governor-General, N.W.P. 1844—(Vol. Nos. 349). Punjab intelligence,

of 7-1-1844 — NAI
of 10-1-1844 — NAI
of 4-7-1844 — NAI
of 2-3-1844 — NAI
of 14-3-1844 — NAI
of 11-1-1844 — NAI
of 5-1-1844 — NAI
of 18-3-1844 — NAI
of 28-3-1844 — NAI
of 8·9-1844 — NAI
of 16-9-1844 — NAI
of 18-10-1844 — NAI
of 12-9-1844 — NAI
of 7-9-1844 — NAI
of 24-10-1844 —

(15) Punjab Newsletter No. 98 of 22-1-1844 — NAI

(16) Punjab and Ranjit Singh —1830

A geographical sketch of the Punjab with the history of Ranjit Singh. The Punjab and Ranjit Singh by C.M. Wade, 1824.

(17) The Punjab in 1839-40, Selections from the Punjab intelligence, and Akhbars. by Dr. Ganda Singh, Patiala, 1952.

(18) Secret Consultations,

119 of 20-12-1845

102 of 4-4-1845

102 of 16-1-1845. NAI

(19) *The Punjab in 1839-40. selections from the Punjab Akhbars Punjab Intelligence. etc.*, by Dr. Ganda Singh, Patiala, 1952.

(20) *Private correspondance relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, by Dr, Ganda Singh, Amritsar, Sikh History Society, 1955.

(21) *Punjhb Papers* (contains selections from family collections of Governor-General of India from 1839 to 1849). Hoshiarpur, 1972.

(22) Imperial Records Department—*Calender of Persian Correspondence*, 11 Vols. Calcutta : Central Publications Branch, Government, of India, 1911-14.

(23) *Press Lists of Old Records of the Punjab Secretariat Lahore* (ORPS). Vol. VI, Ludhiana Agency correspondence with Government, 1831-1840. Lahore : 1915.

Press Lists of Old Records in the Punjab Secretariat, Lahore, Vol. VII, N.W.F. Agency correspondence with Government, 1840-1845. Lahore : 1915.

Press Lists of Old Records in the Punjab Secretariat, Lahore, Vol. VIII, North West Frontier Agency, Miscellaneous correspondence, 1840-1845. Lahore, 1915.

(24) Punjab Government Records Office Publications-Monograph No. 17 : *Events at the court of Ranjit Singh, 1810-1817*, Reprint, Patiala, 1970.

Punjab Government Records Office Publications-Monograph No. 18 : *Punjab Hundred Yeaes Ago*. Reprint, Patiala, 1970.

(25) *Selections from the Public correspondence of the Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjab*, Vol, I, Lahore : The Government of the Punjab, 1852.

(26) *Papers respecting the Late Hostilities on the North Western Frontier of India presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty*. London : House of Commons, 26 Febrnary, 1846.

Further Papers respecting the Late Hostilities on the North Western Frontier of India...presented to both Houses of Parliament, London : Printed by T.R. Harrison, 1846.

B. PERSIAN WORKS

(a) Manuscripts :

1. Abbas Khan Sarwani : *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* c. 1580 A.D., Udaipur : Saraswati Bhandar Library MS No. 135.

2. Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, written in Jahangir's reign, 1605-27 A.D. MSS in Aligarh and Allahabad Universities.

3. Ahmad Yadgar ,*Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*, MS. KCA.

4. *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, MS. in BM., London.

5. *Aina-i-Sikandar*, Delhi May 1840, National Archives of India, New Delhi (NAI-ND).

6. *Akhbar-o-Marasilat-in-Siasi-w-Mulki*, of the times of Maharaja Gulab Singh and Maharaja Ranbir Singh, intellience reports by British intelligencer at Srinagar Mirza-Saif-ud-Din, news-writer. MS in 13 vols., Govt. Research Department Collection, Srinagar, (RDL-S).

7. Ali-ud-Din, Mufti, *Ibrat Namah*, c. 1854 A.D. MSS. India office Library London (IOP) and Khalsa College, Amritsar (KCA).

8. Anand Ram Mukhlis, *Takirah*, MSS. in Aligarh University and Rampur State Libraries.

9. Ajudhia Prasad Diwan, *Waqai-i-Jung-i-Sikhan*, written soon after the actual happenings—Sometimes between 1845 and 1846 A.D. The narrative is an eye-witness and contemporary, and is free from all literary or dedicatory superfluities. Diwan Ajudhia Prasad, being an eminent official of Lahore Darbar, observed the political developments at very close quarters and had ample means to collect first hand information. Therefore, being an original and authentic narrative of events, the manuscript is a rare record of important events and the role of Gulab Singh in the first Sikh War with the British in India, 1845-46.

10. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, MS. in RDL (S).

11. Birbal Kachru, *Tawarikh-i-Kashmir*, MS. RDL (S).

12. Ganash Dass Badehra *Raj Darshani*, *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu*, A.D. 1847 ; MSS, the British Museum, London (complete text); the Library of India Office, London (starts from the events of Raja Bodh Arjan) ; Sri Partap Museum, Srinagar (incomplete).

It is a history of the Rajas of Jammu from the earliest times to A.D. 1846-47. Its writer Ganesh Dass was a Qanngo of the Chakla of Gujarat in the Punjab when Maharaja Gulab Singh took him to Jammu and appointed to the Daftar of that Province. The work was completed in 1847.

13. Ganesh Dass Wadehra, *Chahar Bagh-i-Punjab*, 2 vols. MS. in India office, London written in 1849 A.D. It is a detailed history of the Punjab from ancient times to the time of annexation of the Punjab in 1849 A.D.

14. Ganesh Dass Wadehra, *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab*. This is a very short history of the Punjab, later expanded by the author into the

work listed at No. 11. Ms. in Khuda Baksh Library, Bankipore, Patna.

15. Ganeshi Lal, *Kashmir Name* or *Siyahat-i-Kashmir* MSS. (1) London : British Museum : (2) Patiala Archives of the Govt. of the Punjab. It is a stage-wise record of a visit from Ludhiana to Sringar and back via Kathua from 28th March to 11th June, 1846 by some prominent British officers. The work was completed in 1847.

16. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, Mir, *Khazana-i-Amira*. Written 1762-63 A.D. MS. in Aligarh University, Library. Printed edn. Cawnpore : Nawal Kishore Press, 1871 and 1900.

17. Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din, surnamed Bute Shahs *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, 1842 A.D. MSS. in Patiala Archives Govt. of the Punjab and Lahore. Punjab University Library. The author was employed in the Agency at Ludhiana when he wrote this book, probably between 1840 and 1842 A.D. This history begins with earliest times and closes with the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1839 A.D. Later some portion covering the period after Ranjit Singh to the assumption of Wazarat by Raja Hira singh (1843 A.D.) were added to it by the Author,

18. Imad-ud Din Husain Chishti, *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi*, MS. 1798 A.D.

19. Kanhaya Lal Hindi, *Rnajit Nama*, M.S. Lahore : Punjab University Zibrary.

The author was the executive Engineer, Lahore Division, Lahore. A translation of this work in Urdu was prepared by Ghulam Ali Khan and was published at Lahore, 1909 A.D. The Persian text was lithographed at Lahore in 1876 A.D. (E. Rehatsek, *Indian antiquary*, Vol. XVI, 1887, pp. 305 sq.)

20. Khair-ud Din, Maulavi Muhammad, Allahabadi, *Ibrat Nama*, written 1791 A.D. 2 Vol. MSS. in KCA. and Khuda Baksh Library, Bankipore, Patna.

21 Khushwant Rai, *Tawarikh-Sikhan*, also called, Kitab-i- Tawarikh-i-Panjab. 1811 A.D. MS. Patiala Archives.

22. Mahrab Singh Kayasth, *Tarikh-i-Mulk-i-Hazara*, also called *Tarikh-i-Hazara*.

23. Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Chishti (Yakdil) *Roznamacha*. MS. in possession of the author's descendents at Lahore. The work is divided into twenty Volumes and covers the period from about 1819 to 1860 A.D It is based on eyewitness knowledge of events and information received from eminent contemporaries

24 Mihan Singh, Colonel, *Tarikih-i-Kasnmir*.

25. Mufti Ali-ud Din, *Ibrat Nama*, completed on 13th September, 1854, A.D. MSS. KCA. and Punjab University Library, Lahore.

26. Muhammad Ali Ansari, *Tarikh-i-Mazaffari*, MS , 1225 A.H. (1810 A.D.) Aligarh University.

27. Muhammad Negi Peshawari, *Sher Singh Nama* also called *Halalt-i-Punjab*, MS. in Patiala Archives. The work covers years, from 1839 to 1843 A.D.

28. Munshi Harbhagat Rai, *Zafar Nama* (Manual) of Military Training). MS. Patiala, Punjab Govt. Museum. It was prepared by the French General Ventura in French aad was afterwards rendered into Persian by Maharaja Ranjit Singh's order.

29. Narayan Kaul Aziz Pandit, *Tawarikh-i-Kashmir* MS. dated 1846, RDL Srinagar. It was completed by native of Kashmir in 1710. 11 AD. and continued by a later writer down to about 1846 A.D., up to the conclusion of the First Anglo-Sikh War.

30. Nizam-ud Din *Tabaqat-t-Ahbari* 3 Vols. Lucknow, 1920.

31. Qudratullah, Jam-I-Jahan Numa Vol. II.

32. Raja Ram Tota *Gulgashat-i-Punjab*, MS. Patiala Archives, dated A.D. 1849. A general history of the Punjab.

33. Rajjab Ali, Maulvi, *Roznamcha*, 3 Vols. MS. Patiala Archives.

34. Ram Sukh Rao *Jassa Singh Binod* compiled between 1801 and and 1837. MS. Patiala Archives.

35. Rattan Chand *Khalis Nama*, MS. Patiala Archives. The book was composed beween the period from 12th March, 1842 upto 27th October, 1843 and deals with the Sikh history from the earliest times upto the accession of Maharaja Dalip Singh. The author was employed under the Attri Chiefs as Munshi or Correspondent. His account is there based on reliable knowledge of the contemporary events in the Punjab.

36. Sahj Ram Kaul, *Maharaja Namah*. MS. Srinagar, Sri Partap Singh Museum.

37. Shah Yusuf, Muhammad Gardezi, *Halat-i-Multan*. MS. dated 1861.

38. Tahmas Khan Miskin, *Tahmas Namah* or *Tarikh-i-Tahmas*. MS. in BM. London. The author lived at various places from Jammu to Delhi, and had served eminent persons like Mir Munno' his young wife Mughlani Begam and Zain Khan, governors of Lahore and Sirhind.

39. *Tarikh-i-Sayyid Ali*, MS. RDL (S).

40. *Tariskh-i-Muzaffari*.

41. *Waqay-i-Shah Alam*, MS. Patiala, Dr. Ganda Singh's private Collection.

—*Wakiat-i-Mushtaki*.

(b) Printed/Lithographed

42. Abdul Karim 'Alawi', Munshi Muhammad, Tarikh-i-Punjab Tuhfatil-ul-Ahbab. Mid-19th century work. Lithoraphed edn., 1849. Matba Mudemmadi Press (Zuchnow 2) 1862.

43. Adbul Karim (Alawi), *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 1850, AD MS. in Bombay University Library. Printed edn. Lucknow, 1850.

44. Abu Talib al Husainl al-Ariazi Turbati, Mir, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, 1628-37.

45. Ahmad Yadgar, *Thrikh-i-Salatin-Afghana*, Calcutta. Asiatic Society (Bibliotheca No. 257), 1939.

46 *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, edn. with notes by M. Bagir Malik, Oriental College Magazine, 14(2), Lahore, February 1938.

47. Amar Nath, Diwan, *Zafar. Namah-i-Ranjit Singh*, Lahore.

48. Aziz Beg, Mirza Muhammad Tarikh-i-Hazara, 1874.

49. Gulam Husain Khan Tabatabai, *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, 1781 A.D. 2 Vols. Lucknow, 1833 and 1836 : Cawnpore, Nawal Kishore, 1866 and 1897.

50. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Khazana-iAmira* Nawal Kishore Press, Kanpur, 1900.

51. Husan Malik, *Tawariki-i-Kashmir* or *Tarikh-i-Hasan*. A history of Kashmir upto the end of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign (1885) in Vols. Printed Govt. Research Department. Srinagar, 1962'

52. Imperial Records Department. *Calender of Persian Correspondence*, 11 Vols. Central Publications, Branch, Government of India, 1911-1914, Calcutta.

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APPENDIX I

Sanad issued by Ahmad Shah Durrani to Raja Umed Singh in A.H. 1175, mentioning Raja-i-Rajaha, Raja Ranjit Dev.

بسم الله الله یا فتاح الحکم سنه ۱۱۷۵

یا هو

احمد شاه

آنکه چون پیوسته منظور نظر اکسیر تاثیر و مرکوز خاطر خطیر خورشید نظر به تربیت حال و ترقی احوال
اخلاص کیشان عقیدت آئین و خیر اندیشان صداقت تمکین میباشد و مصداق این مقال شاهد
احوال عقیدت و اخلاص دستگاه راجه امید سنگه چمیال است که حسن اخلاص او بر مرات ضمیر منیر
ظاهر است و درینوقت عقیدت و اخلاص دستگاه امو بک رام وکیل اخلاص و عقیدت دستگاه
ثروت و مکنت و صداقت آگاه راجه راجها راجه رنجیت دیو راجه جموں بعرض اشرف رسانید
که محال پتهیار از قدیم الایام بمبلغ سه لک و هشتاد هزار دام الی الان بجاگیر عقیدت آگاه
مزبور بوده است که قابض و متصرف میباشد و حال نیز بدستور قدیم بموجب رقم در وجه او
بهر حال و برقرار باشد لهذا چون راجه امید سنگه نسبت قرابت براجه رنجیت دیو دارد و راجه
مشار نیز کیفیت اخلاص راجه امید سنگه را بعرض اشرف رسانیده است درینوقت از ابتداء
السنه مبارکه ... محال پتهیار را در صورت صدق مدعا براجه امید سنگه موصی الیه
بدستور قدیم کماکان بجاگیر هر ساله براجه مرحمت و عنایت فرمودیم که هر ساله متصرف بوده دامهائے
مزبور را بوصول رسانیده صرف مایحتاج خود نموده بتقدیم خدمت و جانفشانی باشد و احدی
باو رجوعی نباشد زمینداران و قانون گویان وغیره رعایای محال مزبور حسب المقرر دامهائے
مرقومه را بدستور قدیم از محال پتهیار بجاگیر راجه مزبور مقرر و برقرار دانسته باو میرسانیده
باشند و او را جاگیردار و بزرگ خود دانسته از ... و صلاح ... بیرون نروند و از فرموده
تخلف نروزند مستوفیان عظام و لشکر نویسان کرام صورت رقم مطاع را در دفاتر
لازم ثبت و حسب المقرر معمول داشته ....

فی شهر ذی قعده الحرام سنه ۱۱۸۵

APPENDIX II

Copy of Emperor Bahadur Shah's Patta in favour of Raja Ranjit Dev, dated 11 Rajjab, 1192 (A.D. 1778).

نشانے بخط عربی

موہر بادشاہے بحروف عربی

نشانے بحروف عربی

سکہ ۲

عقیدت دستگاہ ارادت انتباہ راجہ رنجیت دیو ہموار در فقہ رفقا باشد

چون کہ حسن خدمات و خیر خواہی و سلوک نیکخواہی آن خیر اندیش منظور نظر مزاج
مبارک و رعونت خاطر اشرف باشد شما در ہر حال مطمئن خاطر باشند درین الایام
بسمع اشرف رسید کہ ہری سنگہ در ملک سیز کوٹ در اطراف دامن کوہ فتنہ و فساد
برپا میکند و آنچہ ملک گرد و نواحی بسر سیالکوٹ در قبضہ المہراج است باید کہ مردم
ہری سنگہ را در آن ضلع دخل ندہند او را روانہ ملتان نماید کہ خیر خواہی شما
دران منظور است چون از وقت راجہ بجراج دیو الی الان چندہا کار نیک از شما
بوقوع آمدہ بجلہ امرین علاقہ خاص جموں وغیرہ تعلقہ از قدیم در تصرف شما است
بدستور عالیہ ماند دیگر آنکہ میان ملوک سنگہ بسیار دانا و عاقل اند او را در کار و بار
ملک شامل دارند کہ بہبودی شما دران است حال اخلاص دستگاہ محمد حسین روانہ
الصوب شدہ بعضے امر ہم در مقدمات شائستہ بشما بیان خواہد نمود و بگوش
ہوش استماع نمایند و راجہ ہای دیگر ہم فرمان والا شرف نفاذ یافتہ کہ تابع شما
باشند و ہمچنانہ راجگان خصوص راجہ انبہ چند کوٹ وغیرہ طریق اتفاق مرعیہ
داشتہ از خود رضامند دارید و بر حدود خود ہا ثابت قدم ماندہ ہموارہ عنایات والا را
سامانی خود دانستہ مشغول سرگذاری باشند - المرقوم ۱۱ ماہ رجب ۱۱۹۲

APPENDIX III

Sanad issued by Shah Zaman to Raja Jit Singh of Chamba in A.H. 1211 (A.D. 1797), asking him to perform the functions of Diwani in collaboration with Raja Sampuran Singh of Jammu.

بسم الله خیر الاسماء

الله

یاهو

قرارداد ذالطاف خویشتن یزدان

نگین حکم جهان را بنام شاه زمان

دستخط طغرا

آنکه دولت وثروت پناه ارادت واخلاص دستگاه راجه جیت سنگ
راجه چنبه بالطاف موفور شاهانه سرافراز گشته بداند که چون آن دولت پناه
از جمله اخلاص کیشان ودولتخواهان این آستان رفیع الشان بوده ومی
باشد واشفاق شاهانه درباره او مبذول است در هر باب خاطر جمع بوده بالتفاق
دولت وثروت پناه تهور وشجاعت آگاه اخلاص وارادت دستگاه راجه
سمپورن دیو راجه چون خدمات دیوانی را بانجام رسانیده حسن خدمت
خود را اظهار سازد که فراخوران مورد نوازشات شاهانه خواهد شد

فی شهر رجب المرجب سنه ۱۲۱۱

APPENDIX—IV

Braijraj Panchshika

An important event in the history of Kangra and Nurpur was the invasion of these territories by the armies of Jammu in about 1773 A.D. Raja Ghamand Chand Katoch was the ruler of Kangra. He occupied by force the Pathiyar fort of Chamba. Raja Raj Singh of Chamba, a minor, and a vassal of Maharaja Ranjit Dev of Jammu, appealed to his superior for help. Ranjit Dev sent his son and heirapparent, Mian Brijraj Dev, at the head of an army commanded by Ajmat Dev Mankotia, Shamsher Chand Huntal, Mian Amrit Pal of Balaur, Rattan Dev of Jasrota and others. Dev Datt alias Kavi Datt, the court poet of Jammu, happened to accompany the Prince on the Kangra expedition. He wrote a short account of this expedition in verse. Being a document written by the one who was an eye-witness to the incidents described, it seems to be an important source of the history of these hill states at a period when the whole territory was in turmoil and there were frequent clashes of arms between the troops of these hill states. The war poem has been reproduced below in full in its original Braj-bhasha version containing a few verses and words of the Pahari or Dogri dialect.

ब्रजराज पंचासिका

सोरठा—पूजीं श्री गुरुदेव सकल देव मूरति विमल ।
जा प्रसाद कछु मेव पायो दत्त कबित्त को ॥ (1)
भूपति पति रनजीत साईं जम्बू नगर को ।
पति वसन सौं प्रति धरत रहो चिरजीत ही ॥ (2)
रघुकुल नीरधि चन्द ता नंदन ब्रजराज दे ।
यदु नंदन जगबंद बंदित रहो अनंद सों ॥ (3)
बड़ो रीझवार सिरि राजा रनजीत देव ।
जाने सम मेव श्येन साधन में रत है ॥ (4)

APPENDIX IV

अथ उद्योग मूल वर्णनम्

दोहा— एक दिवस चंबयाल को दूत पुकारयो जाई।
वाको दुर्ग पठ्यार को लियो कटोच छिनाई ॥ (5)

सो०— यों मुनि उठयो रिसाई साई जम्बू नगर को ।
ता छिन लियो बुलाइ लाइक सुत ब्रजराज दे ॥ (6)

कह्यो नयन समुझाइ महाराज ब्रजराज सों।
दूर करो तुम जाइ बाढ्यो गर्द कटोच को ॥ (7)

दो०— अजमत दे मनकोटिया सम्सेर चन्द हन्ताल।
दत्त बलावर को धनी मीआं अमृत पाल ॥ (8)

रतन दे जसरोटिया अरु जयसिंह बंदराल ।
इन भूपन को साथ लै करहु गम्न ततकाल ॥ (9)

स०— कोप किये ब्रजराज़ चढ़यो तब ही महाराज की सासन पाइक ।
साथ लिये नृप डुग्गर के पुनि हाथ धरे हथयार बनाइकै ॥
राखि भरोसो बढ़ो कविदत्त चले यदुनाथ को माथ नवाइकै ।
देस ही देस में हूल उठी जब डेरे किये हरिमंदर जाइकै ॥ (10)
आगे प्रताप चल्यो तिहिं पाछें हरौल मिया बलबंत सिधारयो ।
ताहि के पाछे बड़ी दल आवत सागर लौ कविदत्त निहारयो ॥
सूझद सूर न धूर छयो जब तूरज घोष अकास पसारयो ।
पीछे चल्यो पुनि मीयां रतन दे जो रन जाई कहूं नहि हार्यो ॥ (11)

दो०— आयुध भूषण तुरग पट सभको समहिं सुहात ।
दत्त मोरछर पखन सों भूप पछान्यों तात ॥ (12)

सो०— आगे चलत नसान मत मतगंज मूरये ।
जनु साहान की सान देषि दत्त हुलसत हिये ॥ (13)

स०— हे असबार खरे सरदार हि राजकुमार की ओर हि झांके ।
राखत पाई रकेब मियां ब्रजराज सनै अति ही छवि छांके ॥
तूरज संख बजे डफ दुन्दुभि भेरि चले पुनि चारु पताके ।
ताहिं समै कवि दत्त भने मुहि लागत नोकि नकीब की हाँकै ॥ (14)

दो०— करत कूय दर कूय पुनि चले वीर धरि धीर ।
वेगहि पहुंचे जाइकै ऐरावति के तीर ॥ (15)

स०— पार गए असवार पगारहि पाइक नाव चढ़ाय लंघाए ।
वेग चले न कहुं ठहरात रिसात समै माछिभौन में आए ॥

आइ मिल्यो हायिसिह महीपति काज सरे जिनको मन भाए ।
सा : लिये सिगरे ढल साजि के राज के ताल निवेस लगाए ।। (16)

दो०— आयो दल जैब्बाल को यौ सुनि लहैं न चैन ।
बोलें लोग कटोच के देवदत्त यह बैन । (17)

क०— तद्धांहो बजूरा असां जहलूं चंब्यालबला ।
खुस्सदा पठ्यारा मत कोती जी मुआलांदी ।।
गाहने ही लंघी बुत्त नदी परी भारी हण ।
माछी भौण आइ बुंदे फौज जमुआलां दी ।।
अजजे कल्लेमंझ मिली लैहण सां गुलेरिया जो ।
पौसौ हुण चाल उन्हां कन्ने डडुआलांदी ।।
बप्पेड़ सिबेए बड़ा जोर पाए मिली जांघे ।
बोल्यां बुत्त रससीं क्या चैड़ जासुआलांदी ।। (18)

स०— राजे के ताल में दूत पठाइ के संधि कियो लियो देस बचाई ।
श्री ब्रजराज हूं सो मिलिवै को उलेर करी न गुलेर के साईं ।।
यों सुनि कांगड़ा देस नरेस आनन आन परी पिअराई ।
कूय कियो खबली छल तें फुनि ठादे भये हैं नदौन में जाई ।। (19)

दो०— एक दिवस डेरे किये हरिपुर में ब्रजराज ।
मीत जानि अनुकूल ह्वै पूरन लाज जहाज ।। (20)

स०— छोरयो दत्त गुलेर को देस तबै कछु हद्द कटौंचे की आई ।
लूटवे को चहुं ओर तकै करि सोर पठान की छूट पठाई ।।
देखि परे दसहिं दिस धूम हि आग दवानल ज्यों छवि छाई ।
श्री ब्रजराज प्रचंड प्रताप तें भागत ठौर लहै न लूगाई ।। (21)

सो०— राजसिंह महाराज साईं प्रबल पहार को ।
दौरी निज दल साज आइ मिल्यो जमुआल सो ।। (22)

दोहा— लूटि जारि वा देस को गए वियासा तीर ।
तुरत जाइ गाहन कियो काहन सिंह धरि धीर ।।
किये जाइ ज्वालामुखी डेरे जुरि सम भूप ।
आइ मिल्यो डहुआल तहां गोपी चन्द अनूप ।। (23)

स०— छोरि नदौन कटोच तवै जसुआल समेत कलेसर आओ ।
क्यों हुन लघि सकै जमुआल यही जिय जानि घनो हुलसाये ।।
फौज पठाय कछुक गुहासन र त में आप तहां पुनि आयो ।
सूरन को समुझाई भले ततकाल कलेसर हूं को सिधायो ।। (24)

दोहा— देषि जरत निज देस को लोक बड़ो डर पाइ ।
घर घर ऐसे कहत हैं आपस में अकुलाइ ।। (25)

क०— भए हो निभीत रनजीत देव भूपति सो,
बांध्यो तुम्हें बैर जो नरेश सरदार सों ।
छोड्यो है पठानियों गुलेर डढवाल,
तुम्हैं सरयो कौन काज मेल कीनों जसवाल सों ।
देश को जरायो और लुटाइ के खराब करयो,
दत्त मनें कौन फल पायो पठ्यार सों ।
कौन समुझावै इस मूरख घमण्डाजू को,
कोश करि खण्डा मिल भूपति कुमार सों । (26)
कीनो न विचार पठ्यार ज छिनाय लोनों,
वैर इहि काल चंब्याल सों जगायों है ।
वैरी है गुलेर तेरो मेल न पठानिया सो,
एक अभिराज सिंह तेरे साथ आयों हैं ।।
कहा अब कीजै तन छीजै धूम देषत ही,
बैठि कै नदौन सारे देश को जरायौ है ।
कहै एक रानी दत्त बानी जो घमण्डाजू को,
कौन के भरोसे रनजीत दे रुसायो है ।। (27)

दो०— उत्त पुनि होत प्रभात हीं श्री ब्रजराज कुमार ।
साथ सकल असुवार लिये गयो वियासा पार ।। (28)

स०— दूर ते घूम निहार कोऊ जन चार कलेसर जाइ पुकारयो ।
सोए कहा उठि भागो सबै जमुआलन को दल लंघि सिधारयो ।।
यो सुनि कोई न काहु को पूछत भागत ना भग जात सम्हारयो ।
भागि गए जसवाल कटोच तैव कछु और न मन्त्र विचारयो ।। (29)

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अथ जसुआल कटोचों का भागन वर्णनम्

स०— राषि रसी करवार कुमान तूणीर हुते कटि तीर न साँधे ।
पाइ बनाइ बनात के कोस बन्दूक भरी (इ) ते धरी रही कांधे ।।
कोश रही तरवार सभी कुलनार पई जनु लाज के फांधे ।
दत्त कटोच हुं ने हथयार बनाइ कै भूषन हेतहि बांधे ।। (30)

डारि कै सज्ज सभै धरणी ततकाल तुरंग पै दीन फिराकी ।
पाइक पाइ बड़ो दुख दौरत दौरि थकाए तुरंगम राकी ।।
छोरि कै लाज भगे दोऊ भूपति आह तजी धन प्रान धरा की ।
भागत जोर जगी गरमी तब वाय तकी ठंडी राजपुरा की ।। (31)

स०— जारि चनौर गृहासन को तब श्री ब्रजराज कलेसर आयो ।
लूटत जारत देश हि ता छिन छूट पठाई नदौन जरायो ।।
जानि कै मीत खरो अपनो तत्काल कल्हूर को भूप बुलायो ।
कांपि उठै मण्डयाल जबै ब्रजराज निवेश नदौन में आयो ।। (32)

क०— धोरि आनमान रहे साह पातसाहन की पीठ,
जिन देखि है दीना बेग खाँ की ।
मंडीयै कल्हूर आइ दाखल हजूर भए,
चोरि कै गरुर सूरबीर कै गुमान की ।।
प्रसरयौ प्रताप ज्यों पुआध महाराज हूं को,
कौन हूं न ठानी मत मीआँ सो मिलान की ।
देवदत्त भूप रनजीत देव ऊपर ही,
ह्वैतो सब देखी है तुठाई भगवान की ।। (33)

स०— बांटि दियो सब देस कटोच को भूपन को ब्रजराज रुमार ही ।
लायो चनौर मुहासन साथ गुलेर सों चांगर देवल हार हीं ।।
पालम देस दियो चंबयार को आगे हुतो उनको पठयार हीं ।
और दियो किलेदार को देस नदौन धरै अपने सरदार हीं ।। (34)

दो०— दीन्हों देवी चन्द कौ मैल्हमौरियाँ देस ।
लै धन किए किसान ज्यो सकल पुआध नरेस ।। (35)

सो०— बडभागी ब्रजराई बाटि कांगड़ा देस को ।
करी कलेसर जाई कुटलैहड पर छूटी पुनि ।। (36)

स०— हारि रहे सब भूप कल्हूंर के जाके लिए बहुती धन लायो ।
हारे पठान उठान सबै पुनि जो गढ़ कैसे के हाथ न आयो ।।
जा लग कैद भयो देविचन्द जों दै धन श्री रनजीत छूड़ायो ।
सो कुटलैहड सिरि ब्रजराज प्रसाद हूं ते विन खेद हिं पायो ।। (37)

दो० — कूच कलेसर तैं कियो सैना चली अपार ।
लूट जारि छिन मैं कियो सीवा मुलय उजार ।। (38)

सो०— सीवापुर को राइ नाम नारायन चंद पुनि ।
आइ मिल्यो अकुलाइ भूपति भूप कुमार सो ।। (39)

श्री ब्रजराज कुमार जीति सवैया भूप कों।
गांव पृथीपुर सार दीनों गोविंद चंद कों॥ (40)

दो०— जीति सवैया भूप को गए मुहासन फेर।
गोपीपुर डेरे किए राजपुरा भग हेर॥ (40)

क०— कागद पठाओ अभिराज हूं को ब्रजराज,
ऐसे लिपि देवदत्त दूत समुझाइ कै।
होते आदमीत जसुआल जमुआल जातें,
कहौं एक सीष जाकी जानों चित्त लाइ कै॥
पापिन को भूपत घमण्डा कौ निकारि दीजै,
लीजै सभ नाको देस गोपीपुर आइ कै।
नातर तिआर हूजै भूपन सों लीखै को,
आवत हैं सुखीर आतिहि रिसाइ कै॥ (42)

सो०— पढ़ि कागद अभिराइ हित कर मानी सीष वह।
जानि मीत ब्रजराइ आइ मिल्यो ततकाल ही॥ (43)

क०— पंचन में मानिकै बुलाओ अति आदर सों,
दीनो बहु देस चित आनन्द बढ़ाय कै।
जाके हेत कीनो है अकाज ब्रजराज देव,
कीनों कुटलैहड़ जो रानी सों छिनाय कै॥
तदपि न खुल्यो चित कपट न बाको गयो,
आयो घर देवीचब्द स्वारथ ननाइ कै।
नेकहुं न मान्यो उपकार दत्त मीतन को,
अपनी भलाई सब दीनो है बहाइ कै। (44)

सो०— आइ मिल्यो जसवाल देवीचन्द विदा भयो।
लागि करन सिंगार यौं सुनि नार गुलेर की॥ (45)

क०— देवीचन्द विदा भयो आइ मिल्यो जसवाल।
यों सुनि नार गुलेर की लागी करन सिंगार॥
लागी करन सिंगार कंतधर आवत जानि।
सरे सकल अभिलाष रैन दिन यों मन ठानी॥
देवदत्त चित्त लाइ जान वर दायक सेवी।
सो तूठी जगमाइ संत सुष दाइक देवी॥ (46)

हरिपुर की तरुनीन को बाढ़यो अमित अनंद ।
आवत है घर को सुनयो भूप गोवर्धन चन्द ॥
भूप गोवर्धन चन्द सकुन सब होवन लागै ।
लषि आवत घर कंत विरह दूसन सम भागै ॥
दत्त फुरें हग वाम उरज वामी भुज फरकी ।
घर घर करत सिंगार चारु नारि हरिपुर की ॥ (47)

क०— ठंडे ठंडे पाणी जिन्हैं पीते बरफानी भलो,
तौठिया दा पानी हुन चेते कुस आउंदा ।
मिट्ठे चूपे जिन्हैं अब छैल पंजलैंदे,
कुत्थे खरबूजा हुन तिद्दै मन भाउंदा ॥
लिषि लिषि थक्के नैन पक्के राह दिक्खि-दिक्खि,
दत्त भनें नौंए सैल छोड़ी कुण आउंदा ।
पई बरसात फिरी उघे मन सांत भलो,
असैं बखी कैसकी तुसाड़ा मन आउंदा ॥ (48)

दो०— काहू मीत कटोच को लिषि पतिआं यही बात ।
दत्त न और विचार कछु यही मिलन की वात ॥ (49)

स०— देस विदेस निदेस हिं मानस हैं इनके सिर नाइकै ।
जो करि प्रीत मिल्यो इनसों सो रह्यो निरभीत सिरि घिर पाइकै ।
श्री यदुराय कृपा करि दत्त रह्यो इनको यश भूतल छाइकै ।
ताते कटोच संकोच करो मत वेग मिलो ब्रजराज सों आइकै ॥ (50)

दो०— पढ़ि कागद यह मीत कौ मिल्यो घमण्डा आई ।
मीयां का जयदेव करि बैठ्यो सीस निवाइ ॥ (51)

स०— दे पुनि राज घमंड को तुठी किसान ज्यों धान उखारि लगाइ कै ।
जीति जलंधर को ब्रजराज चल्यो घर को जसखंभ गडाइ कै ॥
सोहन सान समेत निसान जो फेर धरे हैं नदौन जलाइ कै ।
भूपत वे अपने घरहुंन को कीने विदा सभ देहरे आइ कै ॥ (52)

इति श्रीमत् प्रवल पुंडीर भड्डआल पुरोहित कविदत्त विरचिता
श्री ब्रजराज पंचासिका समाप्त ॥

APPENDIX V

Treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, concluded at Amritsar, on 16th March 1846.

Treaty between the British Government on the one part, and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesiy's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.

Article 1.—The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Sidgh, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated the 9th March 1846.

Article 2.—The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the feregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh, shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article 3.—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lacs of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st of October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4.—The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5.—Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may rise between himself and the Government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6.—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages, for himself and heirs, to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7.—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take, or retain, in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8.—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles 5, 6 and 7, of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar, dated 11th March 1846.

Article 9.—The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his torritories from external enemies.

Article 10.—Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

This treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person ; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar, this 16th day of March in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1262, *Hijri*.—(*Punjab Government Record Office Museum*).

APPENDIX VI

THE FINAL RECEIPT FOR THE PURCHASE OF KASHMIR

Final receipt for the purchase of Kashmir signed by the Board of Administration.[1]

"The Hon'ble The East India Company having received from His Highness the Maharajah Gulab Singh the sum of Rs. 75,00,000 (seventy-five lakhs) in payment of the amount guaranteed by the III Article of the Treaty between the Hon'ble Company and His Highness dated Amritsar the 16th March, 1846. The single acknowledgment of the receipt of the whole amount is granted by the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, at the request of Dewan Jowalla Sahae, in addition to the receipts already given to His Highness agents by the receiving officers, for the instalments received by them from time to time between the date of the Treaty and the 14th March, 1850, the day on which the last instalment was paid into the Lahore Treasury."

H.M. LAWRENCE.
JOHN LAWRENCE.
C.E. MANSEL.

Lahore, 29th March, 1850.

1. Copy in the Punjab Record Officer Museum.

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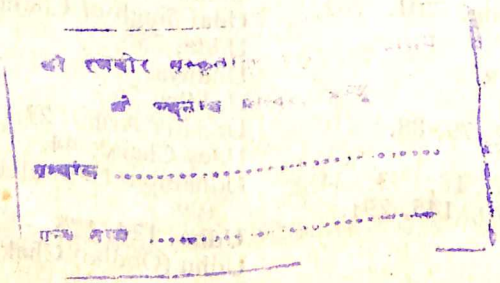

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